

START

The  
Emma  
Goldman  
Papers



REEL

54

# The Emma Goldman Papers

*A Microfilm Edition*

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**Reel 54**

**Goldman Writings**

**Drafts**

Edited by  
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Ronald J. Zboray  
and  
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Alexandria, Virginia

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# The Emma Goldman Papers Project

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*In memory of Brenda J. Butler (1953-1990)*

*who, from 1987 to 1990, coordinated the search for Goldman documents in Europe, Asia and the Soviet Union, thus expanding the Goldman Papers collection to reflect the international dimension of Goldman's life and work.*

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## **Introduction to Reels 54 and 55 (Goldman Writings: Drafts)**

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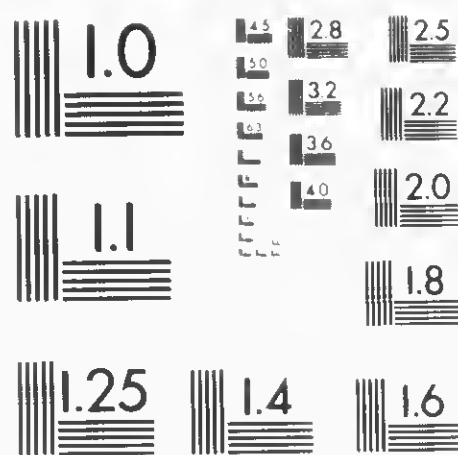
Although some drafts of Goldman's lectures or essays were included as samples among Goldman's published essays, lectures, summaries, and excerpts of speeches (Reels 47 through 53), Reels 54 and 55 contain *only* drafts of essays and lectures.

Most of these drafts are published here for the first time. They disclose the depth and breadth of Goldman's intellectual curiosity and her interest in all facets of life: literature, art, sexuality, education. Her writings on political theory, theories of education, the Chinese Revolution, social analyses of crime and prisons, and the rise of fascism and Stalinism reveal the inquisitive, diligent mind of an original thinker. Goldman believed that no subject should be excluded from public debate and reflection, hence the remarkable range of themes presented in these reels.

The drafts have been arranged in conceptual chapters by the editors of the Emma Goldman Papers. Documents are tentatively dated.



# 16X





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KUNST UND REVOLUTION von EMMA GOLDMAN.

John Galsworthy sagte: " Kunst ist nicht Kunst, wenn sie nicht aus dem ursprünglichen Gefühl eines Künstlers heraus (und Anschauung heraus entsteht und nicht aus dem, was man ihm oft sagte, dass er fühlen und sehen sollte. Denn die Kunst ist nicht dazu da, um die Leute in ihrem Geschmack und ihren Vorurteilen zu bestärken, nicht, ihnen zu zeigen, was sie früher sahen, sondern sie mit einer neuen Anschauung des Lebens bekannt zu machen."

Wenn das für die Kunst zutrifft, dann muss alle Kunst revolutionär sein. Denn die bloße Andeutung einer "neuen Anschauung des Lebens" begegnet dem stärksten Widerstand bei allen, die am Alten haften, bei jenen, die nichts so sehr fürchten wie Veränderung

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2.

und Erneuerung, ob sie nur eine Veränderung der Kunstform oder der ethischen Einrichtungen sei. Es ist nicht nur die Beziehung der Kunst zum aktiven revolutionären Ausdruck, die ich im Auge habe, wenn ich von Kunst und Revolution spreche. Ich habe den unablässigen Kampf aller schöpferischen Künstler im Sinn, den sie zu führen hatten, um sich zu behaupten. Ein Kampf gegen Armut, gegen Dummheit, Gleichgültigkeit und mehr als das, selbst den Kampf gegen die akademische Auffassung von Kunst, das immer der schlimmste Knüttel zwischen den Füßen der freien unbeschränkten Kunstausserung war und heute noch ist. In diesem Sinn waren alle grossen Künstler Revolutionäre. Von Michelangelo, da Vinci, Rodin, Cezanne,

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1860

3.

Monet, Meunier und Millet, von Shelley und Byron, Keats  
Block, Walt Whitman Heine und andern dichterischen  
Seelen bis zu unseren heutigen Tagen. Von Beethoven,  
Wagner, Mozart, Schubert zu dem ringenden Komponisten  
unserer eigenen Zeit, waren alle Revolutionäre der  
Form und des Inhalts ihrer Werke, und viele von ihnen  
standen in naher Beziehung zu dem sozialen revolutionä-  
ren Geist ihrer Zeit. Tatsächlich ist die Geschichte  
aller Kunst in sich selbst ein Epos der Revolution.

Natürlich haben jene, die an der Idee der  
Kunst um der Kunst willen hängen, keinen Kampf auszu-  
fechten. Ihre Kunst wurzelte niemals im Leben -- in  
dem immer wechselnden Panorama der menschlichen Seele  
-- sondern in der Welt der Ideen, die sich nicht ändern.

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--,den Träumen und Bestrebungen jener, die nach einer neuen Anschauung des Lebens streben. Diese Pseudo-Künstler konnten Zola nie verstehen, wenn er sagte: "Alle Kunst ist ein Ausschnitt des Lebens, gesehen aus dem Gesichtsfeld des schöpferischen Künstlers, getränkt mit seiner leidenschaftlichen Seele und von seinem Genius in lebendiger Form gestaltet." Emile Zola war die lebendige Verkörperung der Anschauung von Natur und Zweck der Kunst, und der Rebell gegen die Konventionen seiner Zeit. Zola stellte mit einer Offenheit, die an Brutalität grenzte, die Verfaultheit der reichen und privilegierten Klassen dar, die Unterdrückungen und Grausamkeit des Kapitals, die Selbstsucht und Heuchelei der Minister, Beamten, Armeen

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5.

Offiziere und Priester: er malte mit einer an Verteidigung und ~~Darf~~ Dafür; Eintreten grenzenden Freundlichkeit die Leiden und Kämpfe der Arbeiter und sprach mit vollkommener ~~Ehrlichkeit~~ Ehrlichkeit die revolutionärsten Ideen und Ideale aus. Die Schäden der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft waren gigantisch in seiner Anschauung und die Notwendigkeit einer Veränderung irgendeiner Art so schbieterisch, dass er jeden und alle ehrliche Proteste verstehen verstehen und verzeihen konnte, die zu irgend einer Veränderung in der unerbittlichen Ungerechtigkeit in der Welt führen sollten. Alle seine Werke sind revolutionär, besonders sein *Germinal*, *Paris* und *Arbeit*. Kein Romancier seiner Zeit wenigstens nicht in Frankreich hat so meisterhaft, so

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.1880

6.

Überzeugend, so mitfühlend, man möchte fast sagen, so  
ergeben den Charakter des Extremen, den Märtyrer; Typ  
des Anarchisten, der Propagandisten der Tat gezeichnet.

Von seinem kalten berechnenden konzentrierten  
Souvarine in Germinal bis zum grossherzigen Gelehrten  
Salvat in Paris wurde der aufrichtige Propagandist der  
Tat erklärt, entschuldigt, bewundert, erhoben von Emile  
Zola. Zolas revolutionäre Gefühle fanden nicht nur in  
seiner Kunst Ausdruck, sie strömten erst richtig aus  
dem Menschen heraus bei seiner Berührung mit dem Leben.  
Sein "J Accuse" im Interesse von Dreyfuss und die  
Sache von Monet und Manet, die er so glühend verteidigt  
bewiesen seine Hingabe an jede gerechte Sache, die  
nach Ausdruck rang.



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7.

Aber doch war Zola nur einer aus einem grosse  
Heer schöpferischer Geister, deren innerer und äusser-  
er Wirbel sie zwang, gegen jede Mauer auf ihrem Weg  
anzurennen und sie zu durchbrechen. Jede Konvention  
hätte ihren Geist gelähmt -- die tote Hand der Vergan-  
genheit, die die leuchtende Vision ersticken wollte,  
der Feder und Pinsel und Leier Leben und Schönheit  
verliehen. Kein Kunst:Studierender, ganz gleich in  
wie vielen Akademien er studiert haben mag, wird jemals  
mals die wahre Bedeutung der Kunst sich klarmachen,  
wenn er nicht das Leben der grossen Künstler studiert  
ihre Tugend, ihre Niederlage, ihren Triumph.

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.3880

8.

Mich interessiert die Kunst, die aus der Revolution geboren wurde und die direkte Berührung mit grossen revolutionären Ereignissen hatte. Aus der Französischen Revolution erwuchsen zwei Meisterwerke, ein Bild der Revolution von David und die Marseillaise von de Misle, die den Mensch auf die Bastille begeisterte und die Massen zu revolutionärer Tat anregte. Beinahe zur selben Zeit brüllte Shelley seine dynamischen Lieder gegen die behagliche Selbstgefälligkeit seiner Landsleute. Sein Gedicht "Männer von England" ist eine brennende Anklage gegen die Unterdrückten. Sein "Talisman der Anarchie" für die Zukunft und alle ~~seiner~~ anderen Lieder von Shelleys Trotz und Rebellion gegen Respektabilität

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1830

9.

und Heuchelei. Wir alle wissen welchen Preis Shelley dafür zahlen musste, seine Vertreibung aus Oxford, der Verlust seiner Kinder, das Gift, das über den Süßen Sängern der Liebe und des Lebens und der Freiheit ausgegossen wurde. Die Richter und Folterer Shelleys sind vergessen, aber seine Kunst und sein feuriger Geist werden immerleben und den Weg aller kommenden Dichter erleuchten.

Ode Byron, der immer noch in seiner Heimat missverstanden und sogar gehasst wird. war er nicht der Erz;Rebell in wort und Tat? Seine ~~passive~~ ~~seiner dichterischen Fantasie~~ seine dichterische Fantasie von Unwillen über die erschütternde Lage der Arbeiter in seinem Geburtsland. Seine leidenschaftliche Liebe zur

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10.

Freiheit, die grossherzig für die Sache Griechenlands  
dient entzündete, für die Mutter aller hohen Kunst.

Auch waren weder in England noch in der übrigen  
Welt Shelley und Byron nicht die einzigen Dichter,  
deren Werke hervorgerufen waren durch den Geist der  
Revolution. Ihr Name ist Legion, ihr Leben ein dauernder  
der Kampf für die Menschheit.

Schiller geisselte die Tyrannen seiner Zeit und  
rief zur Rebellion gegen sie auf. Wilhelm Tell und  
Fiesco sind revolutionäre Abhandlungen. Kurz das ganze  
Leben Schillers, in Armut und Not verbracht, war  
ein langes Martyrium für das Ideal.

Heines bitterer Sarkasmus frass wie Säure in

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11.

das feige Herz seiner Landsleute und riss die Maske von dem verlogenen Antlitz der Moralität und der Konventionen herunter. Heines Anteil an den Formen des revolutionären Erwachens seiner Zeit fängt erst jetzt an richtig geschätzt zu werden.

Walt Whitman revolutionierte nicht nur die Dichtkunst, sondern das ganze Herantreten an das Leben. Whitman war der Befreier des menschlichen Körpers so gut wie der seiner Seele.

Wenn wir uns zu den Bannerträgern anderer Literaturen wenden, finden wir dieselbe nahe Verbindung zwischen Kunst und Revolution.

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.1880

12.

Diokens, Swift, Viotor Hugo, George Elliot,  
Emerson, Thoreauh und jeder der Russischen Sohrlft;  
steller von Gogol bis zu unserer Periode. Alexander  
Blocks "Die Zwölf" ist ein Epos der Russischen Revot  
lution. Der grosse Deutsche Bilderstürmer, der Erz-  
Rebell Nietzsche, Anatole F ance, Mirbeau, Ibsen,  
Strindbergh, Hauptmann und Dutzende anderer. Sie alle  
waren Revolutionäre in ihrer Kunst, sie gaben einer  
neuen Anschauung des Lebens Ausdruck und sie waren  
Künstler In ihrer revolutionären Berufung auf die  
Welt, um ihre Anschauung zu begreifen. Die meisten  
von Ihnen kennen die Werke dieser Dichter;Rebellen,  
aber sie kennen vielleicht nicht die machtvollen An-  
klagen Mirbeaus -- des Verfassers von "Les affaires" so

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13.

sont les affaires" (Geschäft ist Geschäft). Folgendes

schrrieb ein Kritiker über ihn:

Mirbeau hat noch nicht den Weltruhm von Zola noch den nationalen Ruhm von Anatole France welangt, aber er kann mit der Zeit so berühmt wie jeder von ihnen werden. Er übertrifft jeden lebenden französischen Schriftsteller in der Darstellung des Ungeheuren, des Grausamen und Schrecklichen, und im Ausdruck von Hass und Ekel: und seine Ironie, von der ist es zweifelhaft ob die Welt irgend etwas ihr vergleichbares an vitriolischer Schärfe gesehen hat, seit England den Dekan Swift besaß. Er ist bitter, wild, erschreckend bis zum höchsten Grad. "Eine jeder Kämpfervatur, die wegen ihrer Überzeugung gefürchtet sind, die teilnimmt an der Natur eines lebenden Wesens...

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14.

Instinkt  
atmet, sich nährt, wächst, mit dem ~~Instinkt~~ der Selbsterhaltung ausgestattet ist und für sein Leben kämpft."

Sein "Calvaire", wie er selbst es ausdrückt, "entkleidet den Krieg all seines Heldentums". Sein "Journal d'une femme de Chambre" ist die vollständigste und entsetzlichste Anklage der Gesellschaft, die man sich ~~anzusehen~~ zwischen den Einbanddeckeln eines Buches vorstellen kann. Erbarmungslos gegenüber der Heuchelei und Hohlheit der Stunde, gegenüber Gemeinheit und Anmassung, gegen impotente und missleitete Philanthropie, vor allem gegen die Dummheit und Hässlichkeit der selbstzufriedenen Bourgeoisie, ~~das~~ er lebend die Haut abzieht. Mirbeau ist andererseits ;; und hier hört seine Ähnlichkeit mit Swift auf, ungeheuer menschlich und erhebend, voller Zartheit und Ritterlichkeit gegen die Ausg

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15.

ausgestoßen und Unglücklichen, gegen die Güte,  
die überall Glück verbreiten möchte; voll von hoch-  
herzigem Eifer, hohen Bestrebungen und unumstößlichem  
Glauben an den endlichen Triumph des Gerechten."

Wurde jemals etwas revolutionäres von dem  
glühendsten Hauser unter den Elirichtungen gesagt?

Dennoch war Mirbeau ein großer Künstler und bewies  
dadurch die nahe Verbundenheit von Kunst und Revoluti-  
tion.

In der bildenden Kunst musste fast jeder Mei-  
ster den Passionsweg beschreiten, Erniedrigung und  
Unbill erleiden, tausend Tode sterben für seine neue  
Anschauung des Lebens. Es würde uns zu weit führen,

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16.

sollten wir auf das bitterste Leben eines Da Vinci,  
eines Michel Angelo eingehen. Man müsste ihre Biogra-  
phie lesen, dann würde man mehr über die wirkliche  
Bedeutung und den Zweck der Kunst erfahren, als man  
in den Schulen tut. Aber ich möchte von den Meistern  
unserer Zeit sprechen. Rodin zum Beispiel, der von den  
Akademikern zu Hockgewiesen und lächerlich gemacht von  
Kritikern, weil er zum Volk um Anregung zu finden.  
Weil er ihr Elend ihre Oede aussprach. Die Aposteln  
der Kunst und der Kunst willen konnten Rodins Meister-  
schaft nicht verstehen, der den Verwüstungen des Al-  
ters Gestalt gab, der Hagerkeit des Hungers, der Inte-  
tensität und Selbstvergessenheit des Gedankens.

Und Rodins Zeitgenosse der Flämische Bildhauer

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17.

Constantin Meunier, welches war seine Beziehung zur Revolution? -- Das Werk von Constantin Meunier verbindet grosse Kunst mit tiefer sozialer Verantwortlichkeit. Ein Kind des Volkes und vertraut mit der lähmenden Wirkung der Armut durchtränkte Meunier seine Kunst mit seiner Liebe zu den Arbeitern und seiner brennenden Anklage gegen ihre Herren. Seine Puddler, Giesser, Docken und Bergwerk-Mädels enthalten den lebendigen Rhythmus, den wahren Geist der Arbeit. Die Einheit des Arbeiters mit seiner Arbeit, die Verbundenheit des Schaffenden mit seiner Aufgabe finden bei Meunier den schlaendsten Ausdruck. Meunier ist kein geringerer Symbolist als Realist. Sein "Mäher" flöss nicht das Gefühl von einem Mann ein, der nur sein

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18.

Werkzeug handhabt; Mäher und Sense wirken auf unser  
künstle isches Empfinden wie eine plastische Einheit.

Herblich ist der "Stamm", in dessen ernstem  
Ausdruck etwas von der Erbe ung der Zukunft vor die  
geistigen Augen gestellt ist. Diese Gestalt bekrönt  
das mächtige Denkmal der Arbeit, das 1919 -- vier Jahr  
nach Meuniers Tod -- in Lovain errichtet wurde, wo  
der Meister gelebt und gearbeitet hatte. Vier Friese  
umfassen die vier Seiten des Monuments der Arbeit : ;  
Industrie, Die Ernte, Der Hafen, das Bergwerk. Im Vor  
dergrund auf den breiten Stufen ist die auffallende  
Gestalt "Mütterlichkeit", die nach Zolas "Fecondite  
geschaffen wurde. "Eine Hymne auf die Arbeit" Meunier  
Werk ist auch der Anruf der Arbeit, die die Ozeane

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19.

Überblickt, ferne Länder einander näher bringt, Kohle  
und Metalle den Eingeweiden der Erde entringt, den  
Boden gräbt und ackert, wie sie in den Gestalten symbo-  
lisiert ist. Beim Anblick der Arbeits-Zyklopen von  
Meunier in ihrer Stärke, ihrem Eintönigen Dasein, ihrem  
schweigenden Leiden und stummer Klage, und mit der  
Schwere ihrer Gedanken, die aus ihren Augen starren,  
fühlt man, als ob man einen Hiesigen betrachte, der von  
einem Alldruck niede geworfen, dennoch an seinen Ket-  
ten herrt. Wenn der Hiese aufsteht und die Fesseln zer-  
reißt, können seine Quäler, die ihn an den Pfahl ban-  
den, wie die Pygmäen Gulliver gebunden hatten, erwart-  
ten, dass auch nur eine einzige ihrer Einrichtungen  
sozialer Ungerechtigkeit werde bestehen bleiben dürfen

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20.

Meunier sah die Stärke und Schönheit der Arbeit, aber er sah auch all ihre Dürstekeit, Verzweiflung und ihre Fesseln; Grosser Humanist, der er war, sehnte er sich, die Arbeit von ihren <sup>Banden</sup> ~~Fesseln~~ befreit zu sehen, und er versuchte, sie mit revolutionärem Eifer zu begeistern, um ihnen eine Bewusstseits ihrer eigenen Würde zu erwecken, die sie instandsetzen würde, ihre Ketten zu zerbrechen.

Der hervorragendste Bildhauer von heute ist Jacob Epstein, ein Schüler Rodins. Obwohl er nicht mit recht ein sozialer Revolutionär genannt werden kann, ist er doch viel mehr Revolutionist in seiner Kunst. 25 Jahre lang pochten seine Werke gegen die Werte der Engli-

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21.

schen Mittelklasse. Sein Hudson-Denkmal hätte beinahe einen Aufruhr verursacht. Sein Denkmal Oskar Wildes ist viel charakteristischer für Wilde als die meisten Dinge die über ihn geschrieben wurden; Es ist ein Schwung und eine Stärke darin und vor allem ein Gefühl der Freiheit von allen Konventionen, von aller Scham. Darum findet Epstein wenig Anerkennung von jenen, die sich als Kunstliebhaber und -Kenner ausgeben, nur weil sie das Geld haben, Kunst zu kaufen.

M A L E R I E I .

Ich wies schon auf einige Maler hin, die in ihrer Zeit Revolutionäre in ihrer Kunst und in ihrem Leben waren. Ich möchte Sie jetzt noch auf einige aufmerksam

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22.

machen, die Revolutionäre im sozialen Sinn waren und sind. Ich erwähnte schon das erschütternde Werk von David. Etwas später kam Honore Daumier, den man als den Michelangelo unter den Karrikaturisten ansah. Seine Zeichnungen vom Hof und der Periode Ludwig Philipps, von der Grausamkeit, Ungerechtigkeit und Heuchelei, die überall unter der Verkleidung von Louis Philippes Liberalismus blühte, taten mehr, um die Revolution von 1830 herbeizuführen, als jede Menge revolutionärer Anhandlungen. Denn Daumier wurde verurteilt von den Söldlingen Louis Philippes und schliesslich ins Gefängnis geworfen. Aber die Geschichte hat eine Methode, ihre Rebellen zu rächen. Louis Philippe ist vergessen. Daumiers Meisterwerke leben. Sie leben so stark (neun Zeichnungen wurden

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23.

eben für 5,000,000 Francs verkauft) und sind so wahr  
im Bezug auf unsere eigene Epoche, auf unsere eigenen  
Herren, Richter, Juristen, Geistliche, wie sie es  
vor hundert Jahren waren.

33 Jahre später nahm ein anderer Maler Courbet  
seine Stelle bei den Pariser Communards ein, um die Pa-  
riser Commune von 1871 zu verteidigen und durch seine  
Begeisterung die Verbindung zwischen Kunst und Revolu-  
tion zu beweisen.

Wir dürfen auch Millet nicht vergessen, den  
Bauernjungen, der sich zum größten Maler seiner Zeit  
emporarbeitete. Wer kannte die Last des Mannes vom Ak-  
kerboden so gut wie er? Edward Carpenter in "Angels H

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24.

Wings" -- Engheschwüngenheit Millets einen schönen Tribut: "Jenes Mädchen, halb verhüllt in einem alten Mantel steht mit ihren ungeheuren Stiefeln auf die Erde gelastet an lehmigen Rand des Teiches, und versucht mit einem schlaffen Seil, das sie auf Arm-Länge hält, ihre Zuh zum Trinken zu locken... könnt ihr tausend Mal wiederholt ihr langweiliges lethargisches Leben daheim sehen, die dümmrigen trüb aufstrahlenden Gedanken, die in ihr wach werden, und so wenig Antwort bei den andern finden? Jene Frau, die beim Lampenlicht strickt, einen Augenblick anhält, die Maschen zu zählen -- ihr kleines Kind schlummert in der Wiege neben ihr -- wie alt wie die Berge ist der Gegenstand und gewöhnlich wie das Gras, und doch wie treffend zart.

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25.

In solchen Bildern wie die "Schäferin" (la Berg-  
gere) mit seiner endlosen Weite über der Ebene, und  
seiner Einsamkeit mit Ausnahme der grossen Zahl Schafe  
die weiden, oder <sup>in</sup> der "Weg zur Arbeit" (ein Baunjunge  
und -Mädchen, die neben einander in ihren Holzschuhen  
dahinschreiten) erhält durch seine absolute Tatsachen-  
Treue jene eindringlichen und unwiderstehlichen Wirkun-  
gen, die nur durch die Natur selbst hervorgebracht  
werden können und durch die Kunst, die sozusagen, in  
ihren Busen liegt; und in solchen Werken wie der seltsame,  
hagere, ungeschickte "Mann mit der Hacke", die  
"Schweineschlichter", der "Ruhende Winzer", scheint  
es wirklich, als habe er bedachtsam die unwahrschein-  
lichsten Gestalten ausgewählt und uns gezwungen, sie zu

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25.

zu lieben, die härtesten Dissonanzen des Lebens, und sie zur Harmonie gebracht. Zwei Männer, rauh und schmutzig, die ein Kalb auf einer Hürde aus den Feldern tragen, und doch der überwältigende Eindruck, der uns vermittelt wird, ist die Zartheit ihres Empfindens für das neugeborene Ding! Wie konnte Millet dem Gefühl des Neugeborenen Dinges Farbe geben, wenn er nicht tief den Kampf und das Leid der Bauernschaft, der Menschheit im Grossen gefühlt hätte. Dies macht seine Kunst revolutionär.

Heutzutage gibt es Dutzende von Künstlern, die unsere sozialen Verhältnisse im Geiste sichtbar machen und den Träumen und unserem Geist der Revolution Leben geben. D

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27.

geben. Die beste Graphikerin, eine Frau Käthe Kollwitz in Deutschland, ist die Verkörperung selbst der Empörung. Ihre Radierungen von Gerhart Hauptmanns Webern sind überwältigend in ihrem straffen Fühlen, wie die dumpfen Sklaven plötzlich zur Rebellion erwachen. Und es gibt heute viele Künstler, die vielleicht nicht so groß wie die deutsche Vergangenheit, doch die Ehrlichkeit und das Mitgefühl für die drückenden Fragen unserer Zeit haben, die mit ihren Pinsel und ihrer Feder die neue Weltanschauung zur Darstellung bringen.

Musik.

Und die Musik, ist da nicht die nächste Verbindung zwischen jener Kunst aller Künste und der Revolution?

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28.

Wenn man das bezweifeln könnte, würden die beiden Riesen in der Musik Beethoven und Wagner sie völlig zerstreuen. Beide waren Revolutionäre im Leben wie in der Musik. Wagner erzählte in seiner Selbstbiographie eine Episode, die geschah, als er die neunte Symphonie in Dresden dirigierte, die die Wirkung von Beethovens grossem Werk auf den Revolutionär Michael Bakunin zeigt. Nach der Aufführung ereignete sich folgender Vorfall:

"Michael Bakunin ohne Wissen der Polizei war bei der Probe anwesend. Nach dem Schluss ging er ohne zu zögern auf mich im Orchester zu und sagte mit lauter Stimme, dass, wenn alle Musik, die je geschrieben wurde, verloren wäre in dem erwarteten Weltbrand, dann müssten wir uns verpflichten, diese Symphonie selbst

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29.

unter Gefahr unseres Lebens zu retten."

Wie bezeichnend, dass der wilde Sturmvogel der Revolution Michail Bakunin die revolutionäre Ader Beethovens empfunden hatte, der sowohl in seiner Musik wie in seinem Leben sich weigerte, sich zu beugen oder Kompromisse zu schliessen. Der, als er mit Goethe ging und dem König und seinem Gefolge begegnete, sich weigerte, Platz zu machen, indem er sagte "Beethoven ist grösser als der König, er ist Herrscher des grössten Königreichs, der Musik....."

In politischer Beziehung entwickelte Beethoven den Radikalismus von seiner Wiege an und obwohl dem Namen nach Katholik hatte er keinen Sinn für Formalis-

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30.

mus und Aberglauben. Als mehr als alles anderen wurde  
die Beziehung von Beethovens Kunst zur Revolution am besten  
von Wagner ausgedrückt. Er schreibt: "Dies war das  
Wort, das Beethoven als Krone auf die Stirn seiner Ton-  
schöpfung setzte; und dieses Wort war "Freude". Mit die-  
sem Wort ruft er den Menschen zu: "Seid umschlungen, Mil-  
lionen! Diesen Kuss der ganzen Welt!" Und dieses Wort  
wird die Sprache des Kunstwerks der Zukunft sein."

Diese neunte Symphonie Beethovens ist die Erlösung  
der Musik aus ihrem besonderen Element heraus in das  
Reich der gesamten Kunst. Es ist das menschliche Evange-  
gelium der Kunst der Zukunft. Darüber hinaus ist kein  
Schritt vorwärts möglich, denn auf es kann nur das voll-  
kommene Kunstwerk der Zukunft folgen, das Universal-Dra-

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31.

ma, zu dem uns Beethoven den Schlüssel schmiedete."

Was Wagner selbst betrifft, so gab er sein Glaubens-  
bekenntnis auf nicht nur in seiner Musik, sondern auch  
in seinen Werken über Kunst und Revolution und die Kunst  
der Zukunft, was immer seine späteren Veränderungen auch  
gewesen sein mögen, seine Rückkehr zur Kirche im Parci-  
val, nach seinen ultrarevolutionären Ton-Poemen, die Ni-  
belungen, seiner leidenschaftlichen Verteidigung der frei-  
en Liebe in "Tristan und Isolde", oder Wagners Rückkehr  
zu den Hürden der Respektabilität und des Kompromisses  
mit seinen königlichen Wohltätern -- nichts kann die Tat-  
sache auslöschen aus der Geschichte, dass er am Dresdener  
Aufstand 1848 teilgenommen habe, dass er tatsächlich auf

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32.32.

den Barrikaden stand und kämpfte. Oder sein Dichter-  
Lied in seinem Prosawerk über Kunst und Revolution.  
Aber lassen wir den noch jungen und mannhaften Wagner  
selbst sprechen :

"Beinahe allgemein ist der von den Künstlern heut-  
zutage erhobene ~~SCHIXIX~~ Notschrei dagegen, dass die Re-  
volution ihnen Schaden zugefügt hätte. Es sind nicht  
die Schlachten auf den Barrikaden, nicht das plötzlich  
mächtige Erschüttern der Pfeiler des Staates, nicht  
der schnelle Wechsel der Regierungen -- das ist schon  
bejammert; denn der Eindruck, den solche grossen Ereig-  
nisse wie diese zurücklassen, ist für den grössten Teil  
Teil unverhältnissmässig flüchtig und von kurzer Dauer

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33.

Dauere für seine Heftigkeit. Aber es ist der zögernde Charakter der letzten Zuckungen, der tödlich die künstlerische Bestrebungen des Tages beeinflusst. Was hat den Architekten reoltiert, wenn er seine Schöpferkraft auf Baracken und Logierhäuser zersplittern muss? Was hat den Maler beleidigt, wenn er das abstossende Gesicht eines Millionärs unsterblich machen muss? Was den Musiker, wenn er seine Musik für den Festtisch komponieren muss? Und was den Dichter, wenn er Romane für die Leihbibliothek schreibt? Was also war der Stachel des Leidens für jeden? Dass er seine Schöpferkraft vergeuden muss für Gewinn und seine Kunst zu einem Handwerk machen! -- Und schliesslich, welches Leiden trägt der Dramatiker, der am liebsten alle Künste ver-

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34.

nigen möchte in dem Meisterwerk der Kunst, dem Drama?

Das Leiden aller anderen Künstler in einem vereinigt!"

Dieser Zustand der Dinge genüge für Wagner beinahe, um die Revolution zu rechtfertigen. Aber es gibt noch einen anderen Faktor, der in den folgenden Zeilen ausgesprochen ist:

"Unsere modernen Fabriken bieten uns das traurige Bild der tiefsten Erniedrigung des Menschen --- andauernde Arbeit ~~XXXX~~ nämlich sowohl Körper wie Seele, ohne Freude oder Liebe, oft beinahe ohne Luft tötend": oder in seiner Verachtung für die "völkverbesserer, die Tropfen des Honigs der Musik auf den sauren Schweiß misshandelter Fabrik-Hände

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35.

träufeln möchten als einzig mögliche Erleichterung,  
Linderung ihrer Leiden."

Wie konnte Wagner anders als Revolutionär sein  
mit seinem erhabenen Ideal, dass "wahre ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
Kunst höchste Freiheit ist, und nur die höchste Frei-  
heit kann aus sich selbst erzeugen." Kein Befehl, keine  
Verordnung, keine Anleitung -- kurz keine Absicht als  
Kunst von der Kunst kann Kunst zum Erstehen aufrufen.

Zum Schluss wieder hole ich mit Galsworthy: :  
Der Zweck der Kunst ist, eine neue Anschauung des Le-  
bens hervorzubringen. Revolution ist das  
Element, das das Leben mit neuen Zielen erfüllt, mit  
neuen Werten, mit neuen Anschauungen. Daher kommt die

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36XX

36.

nahe Beziehung on Kunst und Revolution."

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## K U N S T   u n d   R E V O L U T I O N .

Galsworthy: "Der ehrliche Künstler ist durchh seine  
blosse Natur genötigt, neugierig und empfänglich zu  
sein mit einem instinktiven Verlangen, sich mit der  
Erfahrung anderer zu identifizieren. Dies ist sein  
Wart, ob er sich nun in Komödie, Epik, Satyre oder  
Tragödie ausdrücke. Die Ehrlichkeit misstraut der  
Ueberlieferung, der Autorität, dem Behagen, der Ge;  
wohnheit. Sie kann in der Luft des Vorurteils nicht  
atmen und kann die Grausamkeiten nicht ertragen,  
die daraus entstehen. So kommt es, dass der Geist  
des neuen Dramas wesentlich unvermeidlich menschlich

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2.

und human ist, wesentlich widerwärtig für viele, die

vorgeben, dem grossen Humanisten zu folgen, die, wenn

sie nur aufrichtig wärenm erkenne würden, dass sie

im Geheimen seine Lehre verabscheuen, und sie in ih;

rem Tun fortwährend umkehren."

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## ART AND REVOLUTION

By Emma Goldman

JOHN GALSWORTHY SAID: "ART IS NOT ART UNLESS  
IT IS MADE OUT OF AN ARTIST'S GENUINE FEELING AND VISION,  
NOT OUT OF WHAT HE HAS BEEN TOLD HE OUGHT TO FEEL AND  
SEE. FOR ART EXISTS NOT TO CONFIRM PEOPLE IN THEIR  
TASTES AND PREJUDICES, NOT TO SHOW THEM WHAT THEY HAVE  
BEEN BEFORE, BUT TO PRESENT THEM WITH A NEW VISION OF  
LIFE."

IF THAT BE TRUE OF ART, THEN ALL ART MUST BE  
REVOLUTIONARY. FOR THE VERY SUGGESTION OF A "NEW  
VISION OF LIFE" MEETS WITH THE MOST ~~RICID~~ <sup>strong</sup> OPPOSITION  
ON THE PART OF ALL THOSE WHO ARE FASTENED TO THE OLD.  
OF THOSE WHO DREAD NOTHING SO MUCH AS CHANGE AND  
INNOVATION, WHETHER IT BE A CHANGE OF FORM IN ART OR  
OF SO CALLED ETHICAL INSTITUTIONS. ~~IT IS NOT ONLY THE~~  
~~RELATION OF ART TO ACTIVE REVOLUTIONARY EXPRESSION I~~  
~~HAVE IN MIND.~~ WHEN I SPEAK OF ART AND REVOLUTION,

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I HAVE IN MIND THE INCESSANT STRUGGLE ALL CREATIVE  
ARTISTS HAVE BEEN IN ORDER TO ASSERT THEMSELVES. A  
STRUGGLE WITH POVERTY, ~~WITH~~ STUPIDITY, INDIFFERENCE,  
AND MORE THAN THAT, EVEN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE  
ACADEMIC CONCEPTION OF ART WHICH ALWAYS ~~HAS~~ <sup>NEED</sup> BEEN AND  
IS TO-DAY, THE GREATEST STUMBLING BLOCK TO THE FREE,  
UNTRAMMELED EXPRESSION OF ART. (IN THIS SENSE, ALL  
GREAT ARTISTS FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL WERE REVOLUTIONARY.  
FROM MICHAEL ANGELO, DE VINCI, RODIN, SEZANNE, MONNET,  
MEUNIER AND MILLET, FROM SHELLEY & BYRON, KEATS, ~~BLAKE~~,  
WALT WHITMAN, HEINE AND OTHER POETIC <sup>spirits</sup> SOULS TO OUR  
PRESENT DAY. FROM BEETHOVEN, WAGNER, MOZART, SCHUBERT,  
TO THE STRUGGLING COMPOSER OF OUR OWN TIME ~~ALL~~ WERE  
AND ALL ARE REVOLUTIONISTS IN FORM AND CONTENT OF THEIR  
WORKS, AND MANY OF THEM IN CLOSE RELATION TO THE SOCIAL  
REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF THEIR ~~TIME~~ <sup>epoch</sup>. IN FACT, THE  
HISTORY OF ALL ART IS IN ITSELF AN ~~EPIC OF REVOLT~~

*a long long and  
wild of world*

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OF COURSE, THOSE WHO CLING TO THE IDEA OF ART  
FOR ART'S SAKE, HAVE NO STRUGGLE TO MAKE. THEIR ART  
NEVER HAD ITS ROOT IN LIFE - IN THE EVER CHANGING  
PANORAMA OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT - THE DREAMS AND ASPIRA-  
TIONS OF ALL THOSE WHO STRIVE FOR A NEW VISION OF LIFE.  
THOSE PSEUDO ARTISTS COULD NEVER UNDERSTAND ZOLA WHEN  
HE SAID: "ALL ART IS AN ANGLE OF LIFE PERCEIVED THROUGH  
THE VISION OF THE CREATIVE ARTIST, IMBUED WITH HIS  
PASSIONATE SOUL, AND SHAPED INTO LIVING FORM BY HIS  
GENIUS." EMILE ZOLA WAS THE LIVING EMBODIMENT OF THE  
VISION OF THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF ART, AND, THE  
REBEL AGAINST THE CONVENTIONS OF HIS TIME. ZOLA  
EXPOSED WITH A FRANKNESS, BORDERING ON BRUTALITY THE  
ROTTENNESS OF THE WEALTHY AND PRIVILEGED CLASSES, THE  
OPPRESSIONS AND CRUELTY OF CAPITAL, THE SELFISHNESS  
AND HYPOCRICY OF MINISTERS, MAGISTRATES, ARMY OFFICERS,  
AND PRIESTS; PICTURED WITH A FRIENDLINESS, BORDERING

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ON ADVOCACY, THE SUFFERINGS AND STRUGGLES OF THE LABORERS.  
AND STATED WITH PERFECT FAIRNESS THE MOST REVOLUTIONARY  
IDEAS AND IDEALS. THE EVILS OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY  
WERE ~~MONSTRIC~~ *monstrous* IN HIS VIEW, AND THE NECESSITY FOR A  
CHANGE OF SOME SORT SO IMPERATIVE THAT HE COULD UNDER-  
STAND AND CONDONE ANY AND EVERY HONEST PROTEST THAT  
WOULD LEAD TO ~~SOME~~ *a fundamental* CHANGE FROM THE INTOLERABLE  
INJUSTICE IN THE WORLD. ALL HIS WORKS ARE REVOLUTIONARY  
EXPECIALLY HIS GERMINAL, PARIS AND LABOR. NO NOVELIST  
~~OF HIS TIME~~, AT LEAST NOT IN FRANCE - *contemporary* HAS PORTRAYED SO  
MASTERFULLY, SO SYMPATHETICALLY, ONE MIGHT ALMOST SAY  
SO DEVOUTLY, THE CHARACTER OF THE ~~EXPERIENCE~~, THE MARTYR  
TYPE OF ANARCHIST, THE PROPAGANDIST PAR LE FAIT.  
FROM HIS COLD, CALCULATING, ~~CONCEITED~~ *ambitious* SOUVARINE  
OF GERMINAL TO THE GENEROUS SCIENTIST SALVAT OF PARIS  
THE SINCERE PROPAGANDIST PAR LE FAIT WAS EXPLAINED.  
~~EXCHSED~~, ADMIRER, EXTOLLED BY EMILE ZOLA. LABOR MAY

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BE TAKEN AS HIS CONFESSION OF FAITH OF A NEW VISION OF  
LIFE (ZOLA'S REVOLUTIONARY FEELINGS WERE EXPRESSED NOT  
ONLY IN HIS ART, THEY FAIRLY LEAPED OUT OF THE MAN IN  
HIS CONTACT WITH LIFE. HIS "J'ACCUSE!" IN DREYFUS  
BEHALF, AND THE CAUSE OF MONNET AND MANNET WHICH HE SO  
ARDENTLY DEFENDED PROVED HIS DEVOTION TO EVERY JUST  
CAUSE THAT STRUGGLED FOR EXPRESSION.

( BUT THEN ZOLA WAS ONLY ONE OF THE LARGE ARMY OF  
CREATIVE SPIRITS WHOSE INNER AND OUTER TURMOIL IMPELLED  
THEM TO REBEL AGAINST AND TO BREAK THROUGH EVERY BARRIER  
IN THEIR WAY. EVERY CONVENTION WOULD PARALYZE THEIR  
SPIRIT - THE DEAD HAND OF THE PAST THAT WOULD CHOKE  
THE RADIANT VISION GIVEN LIFE AND BEAUTY BY PEN OR  
BRUSH OR LYRE. NO ART STUDENT, I DO NOT CARE IN HOW  
MANY ACADEMIES HE MAY HAVE STUDIED, WILL EVER REALIZE  
THE TRUE MEANING OF ART UNLESS HE MAKES A STUDY OF  
THE LIVES OF THE GREAT ARTISTS, THEIR TRAGEDY, THEIR

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DEFEAT. THEIR TRIUMPH.

I AM CONCEALED IN THE ART WHICH WAS BORN OUT OF  
REVOLUTION AND WHICH HAD DIRECT CONTACT WITH GREAT  
REVOLUTIONARY EVENTS. (OUT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION  
GREW TWO MASTER PIECES: A CANVAS OF THE REVOLUTION  
BY DAVID, AND THE MARSEILLAISE BY DE LISLE WHICH INSPIRED  
THE MARCH ON THE BASTILLE AND STIRRED THE MASSES TO  
REVOLUTIONARY ACTION. ALMOST AT THE SAME TIME (SHELLEY  
HURLED HIS DYNAMIC SONGS AT THE SMUG COMPLACENCY OF  
HIS COUNTRYMEN. HIS POEM "MEN OF ENGLAND" IS A BURNING  
CHARGE TO THE OPPRESSED. HIS "ANARCHY" A TALISMAN FOR  
THE FUTURE, AND ALL THE OTHER SONGS OF SHELLEY'S  
DEFIANCE AND REBELLION AGAINST RESPECTABILITY AND  
HYPOCRISY. (WE ALL KNOW THE PRICE SHELLEY HAD TO PAY,  
HIS EXPULSION FROM OXFORD, THE LOSS OF HIS CHILDREN,  
THE VENOM THAT WAS POURED OVER THE SWEET SINGER OF  
LOVE AND LIFE AND FREEDOM. THE JUDGES AND TORMENTORS

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OF SHELLEY ARE FORGOTTEN BUT HIS ART AND HIS FIERY  
SPIRIT WILL LIVE FOREVER, ILLUMINATING THE PATH OF  
REVOLT OF ALL POETS TO COME.

*Or*  
OR BYRON, STILL SO MISUNDERSTOOD AND EVEN HATED  
IN HIS COUNTRY. WAS HE NOT THE ARCH REBEL IN WORD AND  
*Deed?*  
DEED? HIS POETIC FANCY ROUSED TO INDIGNATION BY THE  
APPALLING CONDITION OF THE WORKERS IN HIS NATIVE LAND.  
HIS PASSIONATE LOVE OF FREEDOM, GOING OUT GENEROUSLY  
TO THE CAUSE OF GREECE, THE MOTHER OF ALL GREAT ART.

*What a magnificent life!*  
*in a world of tyrants*  
SCHILLER PLAYED THE TYRANTS OF HIS TIME AND CALLED  
TO REBELLION AGAINST THEM. HIS WILHELM TELL AND FIESCO  
ARE REVOLUTIONARY TRACTS. IN FACT, THE WHOLE LIFE OF

SCHILLER WAS SPENT IN POVERTY AND WANT - IT WAS ONE LONG  
*Life of poverty and want*  
MARTYRDOM FOR AN IDEAL. AND HIS ~~SARCASM~~ LIKE HEINE'S  
*living satire that*  
BURNED INTO THE GRAVEN HEART OF HIS COUNTRYMEN, AND TORE  
*like acid*  
THE MASK FROM THE LYING FACE OF MORALITY AND CONVENTIONS.  
*parade of morality and conventions*  
*dullness*  
HEINE'S SHARE IN MOULDING THE REVOLUTIONARY AWAKENING  
OF HIS TIME, IS ONLY NOW COMING TO BE APPRECIATED.



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IN POINT OF FACT ALL LITERATURE WAS ~~AND IS~~ CLOSELY

LINKED WITH REVOLUTION. DICKENS, SWIFT, VICTOR HUGO,

GEORGE ELLIOT, AND EVERY ONE OF THE RUSSIAN WRITERS

FROM GOGOL TO ANDREEVE. THE ARCH REBEL FRIEDRICH

NIETZSCHE WHO PLAYED OUR SLAVE MORALITY WITH THE

RELENTLESS WHIP OF HIS GREAT MIND. OR ANATOLE FRANCE

MORE GRACIOUS AND KINDLY THAN NIETZSCHE AND MORE PENE-

TRATING OF OUR SOCIA ECONOMIC ILLS. ~~AND DID NOT ALL~~

OF THEM PERCEIVE A "NEW VISION OF LIFE."

THEN, AGAIN, WALT WHITMAN, HENRICK IBSEN AND DAVID

THOREAU WERE THEY NOT THE VERY EMBODIMENT OF REVOLT?

LISTEN TO WHAT THEY WROTE ABOUT THE EVILS OF THEIR

TIME.



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"LEAVES OF GRASS" IS THE MOST HUMAN DOCUMENT. FOR  
DID NOT WALT WHITMAN SAY OF HIS WORK "HE WHO TOUCHES  
THIS TOUCHES A MAN." IT IS NO EXAGGERATION TO SAY  
THAT THERE IS NO OTHER WORK IN LITERATURE THAT  
EXPRESSES MAN IN REVOLT THAN "LEAVES OF GRASS." REVOLT  
AGAINST EVERY CONVENTION--AGAINST EVERY FORM OF  
BONDAGE--PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL, *and*  
*legacy of human liberation*  
TO THE STATES OR ANY ONE OF THEM, OR ANY CITY OF THE STATES.  
RESIST MUCH, OBEY LITTLE,  
ONCE UNQUESTIONING OBEDIENCE, ONCE FULLY ENSLAVED,  
ONCE FULLY ENSLAVED, NO NATION, STATE, CITY, OF THIS EARTH,  
EVER AFTERWARDS RESUMES ITS LIBERTY.  
  
NOT SONGS OF LOYALTY ALONE ARE THESE,  
BUT SONGS OF INSURRECTION ALSO,  
FOR I AM THE SWORN FOET OF EVERY DAUNTLESS REBEL THE  
WORLD OVER,  
AND HE GOING WITH ME LEAVES PEACE AND ROUTINE BEHIND HIM,  
AND STAKES HIS LIFE TO BE LOST AT ANY MOMENT

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IN A LETTER TO GEORGE BRANDES, SHORTLY AFTER THE  
PARIS COMMUNE: HENRIK IBSEN WROTE CONCERNING THE STATE  
AND POLITICAL LIBERTY:

"THE STATE IS THE CURSE OF THE INDIVIDUAL. HOW  
HAS THE NATIONAL STRENGTH OF PRUSSIA BEEN PURCHASED?  
BY THE SINKING OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN A POLITICAL AND  
GEOGRAPHICAL FORMULA....THE STATE MUST GO! THAT WILL  
BE A REVOLUTION WHICH WILL FIND ME ON ITS SIDE.  
UNDERMINE THE IDEA OF THE STATE, SET UP IN ITS PLACE  
SPONTANEOUS ACTION, AND THE IDEA THAT SPIRITUAL  
RELATIONSHIP IS THE ONLY THING THAT MAKES FOR UNITY.  
AND YOU WILL START THE ELEMENTS OF A LIBERTY WHICH  
WILL BE SOMETHING WORTH POSSESSING."

*He says the state is the curse  
only in the sense, the power  
of society, the concentrated  
power he has by the state  
Be saying power of state  
expressed all the power  
expressed the power of the  
state.*

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## CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE BY DAVID THOREAU IS A CLARION

CALL TO REVOLT. IN HIS OWN WORDS: "GOVERNMENT, WHAT  
IS IT BUT A TRADITION, THOUGH A RECENT ONE, ENDEAVORING  
TO TRANSMIT ITSELF UNIMPAIRED TO POSTERITY, BUT EACH  
INSTANCE LOSING ITS INTEGRITY; IT HAS NOT THE VITALITY  
AND FORCE OF A SINGLE LIVING MAN. LAW NEVER MADE MAN  
A WHIT MORE JUST; AND BY MEANS OF THEIR RESPECT FOR  
IT, EVEN THE WELL DISPOSED ARE DAILY MADE AGENTS OF  
INJUSTICE."

*Anybody who would be made*  
"THE STATE ONLY AIMS AT INSTILLING THOSE QUALITIES  
IN ITS PUBLIC BY WHICH ITS DEMANDS ARE OBEYED, AND  
ITS EXCHEQUER IS FILLED. ITS HIGHEST ATTAINMENT IS  
THE REDUCTION OF MANKIND TO CLOCKWORK. IN ITS ATMOS-  
PHERE ALL THOSE FINER AND MORE DELICATE LIBERTIES,  
WHICH REQUIRE *freedom* TREATMENT AND SPACIOUS EXPANSION,  
INEVITABLY DRY UP AND PERISH. THE STATE REQUIRES A  
TAXPAYING MACHINE IN WHICH THERE IS NO HITCH, AN  
EXCHEQUER IN WHICH THERE IS NEVER A DEFICIT, AND A  
PUBLIC, MONOTONOUS, OBEDIENT, COLORLESS, SPIRITLESS,

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MOVING HUMBLY LIKE A FLOCK OF SHEEP ALONG A

STRAIGHT HIGH ROAD BETWEEN TWO WALLS."

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CRITIC WROTE OF HIM:

*- 14 1/2*  
*Odore Muegel*  
*Re. work of Les Femmes sans Sol*  
"MIRBEAU HAS NOT YET OBTAINED THE WORLD RENOWN OF

ZOLA NOR THE NATIONAL RENOWN OF ANATOLE FRANCE, BUT HE

MAY BECOME IN TIME AS FAMOUS AS EITHER. HE SURPASSES

EVERY LIVING FRENCH WRITER IN PORTRAYING THE MONSTROUS,

THE ATROCIOUS, AND THE HORRIBLE, AND IN EXPRESSING

HATRED AND DISGUST; AND HIS IRONY, IT IS DOUBTFUL IF

THE WORLD HAS SEEN ANYTHING COMPARABLE TO HIM, FOR

VITRIOLIC VINDICTIVENESS SINCE ENGLAND HAD DEAN SWIFT.

HE IS BITTER, SAVAGE, TERRIFYING TO THE LAST DEGREE;

"ONE OF THOSE COMBATIVE NATURES WHO ARE DREADED BECAUSE

THEIR CONVICTION PARTAKES OF THE NATURE OF AN ANIMATE

BEING, ... BREATHES, FEEDS, GROWS, IF ENDOWED WITH THE

INSTINCT OF SELF PRESERVATION AND STRUGGLES FOR LIFE."

HIS "CALVAIRE", AS HE HIMSELF PUT IT, "STRIPS WAR OF

ALL ITS HEROISM." HIS "JOURNAL D'UNE FEMME DE CHAMBRE"

IS THE MOST COMPLETE ARRAIGNMENT OF SOCIETY IT IS

POSSIBLE TO IMAGINE BETWEEN THE COVERS OF A SINGLE

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*Her Ali - 11 12 1903*  
VOLUME. MERCILESS TOWARDS THE HYPOCRISY AND HOLLOWNESS  
*the most down right*  
OF THE HOUR. TOWARDS MEANNESS AND PRETENTIOUSNESS.

*Her Ali - 11 12 1903*  
TOWARDS IMPOTENT AND MISDIRECTED PHILANTHROPY. ABOVE  
*discusses the endless heads of wealth*  
ALL TOWARDS THE STUPIDITY AND UGLINESS OF THE SMUG

BOURGEOISIE, WHOM HE FLAYS ALIVE. (MIRBEAU IS ON THE

OTHER HAND - AND HERE HIS RESEMBLANCE TO SWIFT CEASES -

INFINITELY HUMAN AND UPLIFTING, FULL OF TENDERNESS

AND CHIVALRY FOR THE OUTCAST AND UNFORTUNATE, FOR THE

GOODNESS WHICH WOULD DIFFUSE HAPPINESS EVERYWHERE;

FULL OF GENEROUS AEDOR, HIGH ASPIRATIONS AND UNFALTERING

FAITH IN THE ULTIMATE TRIUMPH OF THE JUST." WAS

EVER ANYTHING MORE REVOLUTIONARY GIVEN BY THE MOST

ARDENT HATER OF OUR INSTITUTIONS? YET MIRBEAU WAS

A GREAT ARTIST, THEREBY, PROVING THE RELATION BETWEEN

ART AND REVOLUTION.

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IN PLASTIC ART NEARLY EVERY MASTER WAS MADE TO  
*will suffer*  
WALK THE PATH TO CALVARY, ENDURED HUMILIATION AND  
INDIGNITIES, SUFFERED A THOUSAND DEATHS FOR THEIR NEW  
VISIONS OF LIFE. IT WOULD TAKE US TOO FAR AFIELD TO  
GO INTO THE BITTER LIFE OF DE VINCI, OF MICHAEL ANGELO.  
*of*  
YOU SHOULD READ THEIR BIOGRAPHIES, YOU WILL LEARN  
MORE FROM THEM ABOUT THE INTRINSIC MEANING AND PURPOSE  
OF ART THAN IN YOUR SCHOOLS. (BUT I DO WANT TO TALK  
ABOUT THOSE MASTERS WHO ARE OF OUR OWN TIME. RODIN  
FOR INSTANCE WHO WAS REPUDIATED BY THE ACADEMICIANS  
AND RIDICULED BY THE CRITICS BECAUSE HE WENT TO THE  
PEOPLE FOR HIS INSPIRATION. BECAUSE HE ARTICULATED  
THEIR MISERY, THEIR DRABNESS. THE APOSTLES OF ART  
FOR ART SAKE, ART FOR BEAUTY COULD NOT UNDERSTAND  
THE MASTERY OF RODIN WHO GAVE FORM TO THE RAVAGES  
*are*  
OF OLD AGE, ~~THE~~ GAUNT OF HUNGER.

AND RODIN'S CONTEMPORARY - THE FLEMISH



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SCULPTOR. CONSTANTIN MEUNIER - WHAT IS HIS RELATION  
TO REVOLUTION? THE WORKS OF CONSTANTINE MEUNIER COM-  
BINE GREAT ART AND DEEP SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS. A CHILD  
OF THE PEOPLE <sup>and</sup> HAVING KNOWN THE PARALYZING EFFECT  
OF POVERTY, MEUNIER PERMEATED HIS ART WITH HIS LOVE FOR  
THE WORKERS AND HIS BURNING INDICTMENT AGAINST THEIR  
MASTERS. HIS PUDDLERS, FOUNDRYMEN, DOCKHANDS, AND  
MINE ~~WORKERS~~ CONTAIN THE LIVING RHYTHM, THE TRUE SPIRIT  
OF LABOR. THE ONENESS OF THE WORKER WITH HIS WORK,  
THE UNITY OF THE PRODUCER WITH HIS TASK, FINDS IN  
MEUNIER THE MOST STRIKING EXPRESSION. MEUNIER IS NO  
LESS GREAT A SYMBOL THAN A REALIST. HIS "~~MOWER~~" DOES  
NOT CONVEY THE FEELING OF A MAN MERELY WIELDING HIS  
TOOL; ~~MOWER~~ AND SCYTHE APPEAL TO ONE'S ARTISTIC SENSE  
AS A PLASTIC UNITY.

SPLENDID IS THE "~~MOWER~~", IN WHOSE EARNEST  
EXPRESSION IS VISUALIZED SOMETHING OF THE CONQUEST OF



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THE FUTURE. THIS FIGURE CROWNS THE POWERFUL MONUMENT  
TO LABOR THAT IN 1919 -- FOUR YEARS AFTER MEUNIER'S  
DEATH -- WAS ERECTED IN LOVAIN, WHERE THE MASTER HAD  
LIVED AND WORKED. FOUR FRIEZES COMPRISE THE FOUR  
SIDES OF THE MONUMENT TO LABOR--INDUSTRY, ~~THE~~ HARVEST,  
THE PORT, THE MINE. IN THE FOREGROUND ON THE BROAD  
STEPS IS THE STRIKING FIGURE OF "MATERNITY", MODELLED  
AFTER ZOLA'S "FECUNDITY." "A HYMN TO LABOR." MEUNIER'S  
WORK IS ALSO THE APPEAL OF LABOR THAT BRIDGES OCEANS,  
BRINGS DISTANT LANDS CLOSE TO EACH OTHER, WRESTS  
COAL AND METALS FROM THE BOWELS OF THE EARTH, DIGS  
AND TILLS THE SOIL, HOW IT IS SYMBOLIZED IN ITS  
FIGURES! LOOKING AT THE INDUSTRIAL CYCLOPS OF MEUNIER  
IN THEIR STRENGTH, THEIR DRAB EXISTENCE, THEIR SILENT  
SUFFERING AND MUTE APPEAL, AND WITH THE HEAVINESS OF  
THEIR THOUGHTS STARING OUT OF THEIR EYES, ONE FEELS  
AS THOUGH HE BEHELD A GIANT, BORNE DOWN BY A NIGHTMARE,  
YET PULLING AT HIS CHAINS. WHEN THE GIANT RISES AND

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BREAKS HIS FETTERS, CAN HIS TORTURERS WHO HAVE TIED  
HIM TO THE STAKE, AS THE PYGMIES HAD ROPED GULLIVER,  
EXPECT THAT EVEN A SINGLE ONE OF THEIR INSTITUTIONS  
OF SOCIAL INJUSTICE WILL BE PERMITTED TO SURVIVE?  
MEUNIER SAW THE STRENGTH AND BEAUTY OF LABOR, BUT HE  
SAW ALSO ITS BLACKNESS, DESPAIR, AND ~~FETTERS~~; GREAT  
HUMANIST THAT HE WAS, HE YEARNED TO SEE LABOR FREED  
FROM ITS BONDAGE, AND HE TRIED TO INSPIRE THEM WITH  
REVOLUTIONARY ZEAL TO ~~BRING~~ <sup>awaken</sup> A CONSCIOUSNESS OF THEIR  
OWN DIGNITY WHICH WOULD ENABLE THEM TO BREAK THEIR  
SHACKLES.

THE FOREMOST SCULPTOR TODAY IS JACOB EPSTEIN  
A PUPIL OF RODIN. THOUGH HE CANNOT BE RIGHTFULLY  
CLASSED AS A SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY HE IS YET VERY MUCH  
OF A REVOLUTIONIST IN HIS ART. FOR TWENTY-FIVE YEARS  
HIS WORKS KNOCKED ~~AGAINST~~ <sup>complexion</sup> BRITISH MIDDLE CLASS VALUES.

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HIS HUDSON MEMORIAL CAME NEARLY ~~CAUSING~~ <sup>caused</sup> A RIOT, HIS  
MONUMENT TO OSCAR WILDE IS BY FAR MORE EXPRESSIVE OF  
WILDE THAN MOST THINGS WRITTEN ABOUT HIM; THERE IS A  
SWEEP AND A STRENGTH, AND ABOVE ALL A SENSE OF FREEDOM  
FROM ALL CONVENTIONALITIES, ALL SHAME. THAT IS WHY  
EPSTEIN RECEIVES <sup>very</sup> LITTLE RECOGNITION FROM THOSE WHO  
POSE AS LOVERS AND CONNOISSEURS OF ART MERELY BECAUSE  
THEY HAVE ~~THE~~ MONEY TO PAY FOR IT. <sup>Davidson</sup>

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*Director of the  
Revolutionary  
Painting* *also not a special  
but a whole new* *22077*  
*file*  
*27*  
PAINTING

I HAVE ALREADY REFERRED TO SOME OF THE PAINTERS  
WHO IN THEIR TIME WERE REVOLUTIONISTS IN THEIR ART, AND  
IN THEIR LIVES. I NOW WANT TO BRING TO YOUR ATTENTION  
A FEW WHO WERE AND ARE REVOLUTIONISTS IN THE SOCIAL  
SENSE. I ~~HAVE ALREADY~~ MENTIONED THE STIRRING WORK OF  
DAVID. *after him* CAME HONORE DAUMIER WHO WAS CONSIDERED THE  
MICHAEL ANGELO AMONG CARICATURISTS, HIS DRAWINGS OF  
THE COURT AND THE PERIOD OF LOUIS PHILIPPE, OF THE CRUELTY  
INJUSTICE AND HYPOCRICY THAT FLOURISHED EVERYWHERE  
UNDER THE DISGUISE OF LOUIS PHILLIPPE'S LIBERALISM  
DID MORE TO PREPARE THE REVOLUTION OF 1830 THAN ANY  
AMOUNT OF REVOLUTIONARY TRACTS. ~~FOR~~ DAUMIER WAS  
*persecuted*  
HOUNDED BY THE HENCHMEN OF LOUIS PHILLIPPE AND FINALLY  
THROWN INTO PRISON. BUT HISTORY HAS A WAY OF AVENGING  
*Remembered*  
HER REBELS. LOUIS PHILLIPPE IS ~~FORGOTTEN~~. DAUMIER'S  
MASTER PIECES LIVE. THEY LIVE SO VIVIDLY, (NINE  
*or more*  
DRAWINGS HAVE JUST BEEN SOLD FOR 3,500,000 FRANCES).

*and was indication of great  
manipulation*

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*in her application to*  
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~~AND ARE AS TRUE OF OUR OWN EPOCH, OF OUR OWN RULERS,~~  
*counts*  
~~JUDGES, LAWYERS AND PRIESTS AS THEY WERE A HUNDRED~~  
*years ago*  
~~YEARS AGO~~  
*apack of dying weed*

THIRTY-THREE YEARS LATER ANOTHER PAINTER  
COURBET TAKES HIS PLACE WITH THE COMMUNARDS OF PARIS  
TO DEFEND THE PARIS COMMUNE OF 1871 AND TO DEMONSTRATE  
*at the end*  
BY HIS ZEAL THE RELATION BETWEEN ART AND REVOLUTION.

*(one of)*  
NOR MUST WE FORGET MILLET, THE PEASANT BOY RISEN  
TO THE GREATEST PAINTER OF HIS TIME. WHO BUT HE KNEW  
SO WELL THE BURDEN OF THE MAN OF THE SOIL? EDWARD  
CARPENTER IN "ANGELS WINGS" PAYS A BEAUTIFUL TRIBUTE  
*in her work*  
TO THE HUMANITY OF MILLET: "THAT GIRL, HALF-MUFFLED  
IN AN OLD CLOAK, STANDING WITH HER IMMENSE BOOTS  
CLOGGED TO EARTH ON THE CLAYEY EDGE OF A POND, TRYING  
WITH SLACKENED ROPE HELD AT ARM'S LENGTH TO COAX HER  
COW TO DRINK -- CAN YOU NOT SEE, TEN THOUSAND TIMES  
REPEATED, HER DULL LETHARGIC HOME LIFE, THE SILENT

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OVERWORKED HALF-BRUTISH FATHER AND BROTHERS, THE DIM  
GLEAMS OF THOUGHT AWAKING IN HER, TO SO LITTLE RES-  
PONSE FROM ANYONE? THAT WOMAN KNITTING BY LAMP-  
LIGHT, PAUSING FOR A MOMENT TO COUNT THE STITCHES --  
HER BABE SLUMBERING IN THE CRADLE BESIDE HER -- HOW  
OLD AS THE HILLS IS THE SUBJECT, AND COMMON AS GRASS,  
AND YET HOW POIGNANTLY TENDER!

IN SUCH PICTURES AS THE "SHEEP GIRL" (LA BERGERE)  
WITH ITS ENDLESS DISTANCE OVER THE PLAINS, AND LONE-  
LINESS, SAVE FOR THE CROWDS OF SHEEP CROPPING, OR  
THE "GOING TO WORK" (A FARM LAD AND LASS STRIDING  
FORTH SIDE BY SIDE IN THEIR SABOTS) HE OBTAINS BY  
HIS ABSOLUTE FIDELITY TO FACT THOSE SEARCHING AND  
IRRESISTIBLE EFFECTS WHICH CAN ONLY BE GIVEN BY NATURE  
HERSELF, AND THE ART WHICH LIES, SO TO SPEAK, IN HER  
BOSOM; AND IN SUCH WORKS AS THE WIERD, GAUNT,  
UNGAINLY "MAN WITH THE HOE," THE "PIGKILLERS,"

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- 20 -

22080

OR THE "VINEDRESSER RESTING," IT REALLY SEEMS AS IF  
HE HAD DELIBERATELY CHOSEN THE MOST UNLIKELY OF  
FIGURES AND COMPELLED ONE TO LOVE THEM, THE HARSH  
DISCORDS OF LIFE AND MADE THEM FALL INTO HARMONY.  
TWO MEN, RUDE AND DIRTY, CARRYING A CALF ON A HURDLE  
FROM THE FIELDS, AND YET THE OVERPOWERING IMPRESSION  
CONVEYED IS THE TENDERNESS OF THEIR FEELING FOR THE  
NEW BORN THING! HOW COULD MILLET GIVE COLOUR TO THE  
~~FEELING OF THE NEW BORN THING~~ IF HE HAD NOT FELT DEEPLY  
THE STRUGGLE AND WOE OF THE PEASANTRY, OF HUMANITY AT  
LARGE. THIS MAKES HIS ART REVOLUTIONARY.



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22081

AT THE PRESENT TIME THERE ARE SCORES OF ARTISTS  
WHO VISUALIZE OUR SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND GIVE LIFE TO  
THE DREAMS AND OUR SPIRIT OF REVOLT. THE FINEST  
ETCHIST, A WOMAN KATE KOLLWITZ IN GERMANY IS THE VERY  
EMBODIMENT OF REVOLT. HER ETCHINGS OF GERHART HAUPT-  
MANN'S "WEAVERS" ARE OVERWHELMING IN THEIR TENSE  
FEELING OF THE DUMB SLAVES SUDDENLY AWAKENED TO REVOLT.  
AND THERE ARE MANY ARTISTS TODAY WHO, PERHAPS NOT SO  
GREAT AS THOSE OF THE PAST, YET HAVE THE SINCERITY  
AND SYMPATHY FOR THE PRESSING QUESTIONS OF OUR TIME,  
AND WHO BY THEIR BRUSH AND PEN VOICE THE NEW VISION OF  
LIFE.

*R. Goldman caricature  
of the modern dance  
under the influence of music  
forced to*

MUSIC

AND MUSIC, IS THERE NOT THE CLOSEST BOND

BETWEEN THAT ART OF ARTS AND REVOLUTION? IF YOU HAVE  
ANY DOUBTS, THE TWO GIANTS IN MUSIC, BEETHOVEN AND  
WAGNER SHOULD DISPELL THEM COMPLETELY. BOTH WERE

*see by Allen*



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22082

REVOLUTIONISTS IN MUSIC AND LIFE. (WAGNER IN HIS

AUTOBIOGRAPHY RELATED AN EPISODE THAT HAPPENED WHEN

HE WAS CONDUCTING THE NINTH SYMPHONY IN DRESDEN WHICH

SHOWS THE EFFECT OF BEETHOVEN'S GREAT WORK ON THE

REVOLUTIONIST MICHAEL BAKUNIN. AS ~~MANAGER~~ AT THE

DRESDEN COURT THEATRE, WAGNER CONDUCTS THE NINTH SYM-

*at the Dresden Court Theatre*  
PHONY OF BEETHOVEN. AFTER THE PERFORMANCE THE

FOLLOWING INCIDENT TAKES PLACE:

"MICHAEL BAKUNIN, UNKNOWN TO THE POLICE, HAD BEEN

PRESENT AT THE REHEARSAL. AT ITS CLOSE HE WALKED

UNHESITATINGLY UP TO ME IN THE ORCHESTRA, AND SAID IN

A LOUD VOICE, THAT IF ALL THE MUSIC THAT HAD EVER BEEN

WRITTEN WERE LOST IN THE EXPECTED WORLD-WIDE CON-

FLAGRATION, WE MUST PLEDGE OURSELVES TO RESCUE THIS

SYMPHONY EVEN AT THE PERIL OF OUR LIVES."

HOW SIGNIFICANT THAT THE STORMY PETREL OF

*the Great*  
REVOLUTION, MICHAEL BAKUNIN, SHOULD HAVE SENSED THE

REVOLUTIONARY FIBER OF BEETHOVEN WHO BOTH IN HIS

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22083

MUSIC AND HIS LIFE REFUSED TO BOW OR COMPROMISE. ~~WHO~~  
~~WHEN~~ WALKING WITH GOETHE AND MET BY THE KING AND HIS  
~~SUITE~~, REFUSED TO MAKE WAY SAYING BEETHOVEN IS GREATER  
THAN THE KING, HE IS SOVEREIGN OF THE GREATEST  
KINGDOM: MUSIC.....

POLITICALLY, BEETHOVEN EVOLVED RADICALISM AS  
HIS CREED AND THOUGH NOMINALLY A CATHOLIC, HE HAD NO  
USE FOR FORMALITY OR SUPERSTITION. BUT MORE THAN ALL  
ELSE THE RELATION OF BEETHOVEN'S ART TO REVOLUTION IS  
BEST EXPRESSED BY WAGNER. HE WRITES: "THIS WAS THE  
WORD WHICH BEETHOVEN SET AS CROWN UPON THE FOREHEAD OF  
HIS TONE-CREATION; AND THIS WORD WAS -- "FREUDE." (JOY)  
WITH THIS WORD HE CRIES TO MEN; "BREAST TO BREAST,  
YE MORTAL MILLIONS! THIS ONE KISS TO ALL THE WORLD!"--  
AND THIS WORD WILL BE THE LANGUAGE OF THE ART-WORK OF  
THE FUTURE.--

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22084

THIS NINTH SYMPHONY OF BEETHOVEN IS THE REDEMP-  
TION OF MUSIC FROM OUT HER OWN PECULIAR ELEMENT INTO  
THE REALM OF UNIVERSAL ART. IT IS THE HUMAN EVANGEL OF  
THE ART OF THE FUTURE. BEYOND IT NO FORWARD STEP IS  
POSSIBLE, FOR UPON IT THE PERFECT ART-WORK OF THE  
FUTURE ALONE CAN FOLLOW. THE UNIVERSAL DRAMA TO WHICH  
BEETHOVEN HAS FORGED <sup>the key</sup> FOR US THE KEY.

AS TO WAGNER HIMSELF HE HAS LEFT HIS CREED NOT  
ONLY IN HIS MUSIC BUT IN HIS WORKS ON ART AND REVOLU-  
TION, AND THE ART OF THE FUTURE WHATEVER HIS SUBSEQUENT  
CHANGES, MAY HAVE BEEN, (HIS RETURN TO THE CHURCH IN  
PARCEVAL AFTER HIS ULTRA REVOLUTIONARY TONE POEMS,  
THE NIEBELUNGEN, <sup>at</sup> HIS PASSIONATE PLEA FOR FREE LOVE IN  
TREISTAN AND ISOLDA, OR WAGNER'S RETURN TO THE FOLDS  
OF RESPECTABILITY AND THE COMPROMISE WITH HIS ROYAL  
BENEFACTORS -- NOTHING WILL ERADICATE FROM HISTORY HIS  
PARTICIPATION IN THE DRESDEN UPRISING IN 1848, HIS

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22085

- 25 -

ACTUAL PRESENCE AND FIGHTING ON THE BARRICADES. OR  
HIS ~~SONG~~ <sup>near</sup> SONG IN HIS PROSE WORK ON ART AND REVOLUTION.  
BUT LET THE WAGNER STILL YOUNG AND VIRIL SPEAK FOR  
HIMSELF:

"ALMOST UNIVERSAL IS THE OUTCRY RAISED BY  
ARTISTS NOWADAYS AGAINST THE DAMAGE THAT THE REVOLUTION  
HAS OCCASIONED THEM. IT IS NOT THE BATTLES OF THE  
"BARRICADES," NOT THE SUDDEN MIGHTY SHATTERING OF  
THE PILLARS OF THE STATE, NOT THE HASTY CHANGE OF  
GOVERNMENTS, -- THAT IS BEWAILED; FOR THE IMPRESSION  
LEFT BEHIND BY SUCH CAPITAL EVENTS AS THESE, IS FOR  
THE MOST PART DISPROPORTIONATELY FLEETING, AND SHORT-  
LIVED IN ITS VIOLENCE. BUT IT IS THE PROTRACTED CHARA-  
CTER OF THE LATEST CONVULSIONS, THAT IS MORTALLY  
AFFECTING THE ARTISTIC EFFORT OF THE DAY. WHAT HAS  
REVOLTED THE ARCHITECT, WHEN HE MUST SHATTER HIS  
CREATIVE FORCE ON BESPOKEN PLANS FOR BARRACKS AND  
LODGING HOUSES? WHAT HAS AGGRIEVED THE PAINTER,

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22086

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WHEN HE MUST IMMORTALISE THE REPUGNANT VISAGE OF A  
MILLIONAIRE? WHAT THE MUSICIAN, WHEN HE MUST COMPOSE  
HIS MUSIC FOR THE BANQUET-TABLE? AND WHAT THE POET,  
WHEN HE MUST WRITE ROMANCES FOR THE LENDING LIBRARY?  
WHAT THEN HAS BEEN THE STING OF SUFFERING TO EACH?  
THAT HE MUST SQUANDER HIS CREATIVE POWERS FOR GAIN,  
AND MAKE HIS ART A HANDICRAFT! -- AND FINALLY, WHAT  
SUFFERING HAS THE DRAMATIST TO BEAR, WHO WOULD FAINTLY  
ASSEMBLE EVERY ART WITHIN ART'S MASTER-WORK, THE  
DRAMA? THE SUFFERING OF ALL OTHER ARTISTS COMBINED  
IN ONE!

THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS WAS ALMOST ENOUGH FOR  
WAGNER TO JUSTIFY REVOLUTION. BUT THERE WAS ALSO  
ANOTHER FACTOR EXPRESSED IN THESE LINES:

"OUR MODERN FACTORIES AFFORD US THE SAD PICTURE  
OF THE DEEPEST DEGRADATION OF MAN---CONSTANT LABOR  
KILLING BOTH BODY AND SOUL, WITHOUT JOY OR LOVE,

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22087

~~ART~~ ~~ALMOST~~ WITHOUT AIM;" OR IN HIS SCORN OF

"FOLK-IMPROVERS, WHO WOULD TRICKLE DROPS OF MUSIC'S

HONEY UPON THE ACID SWEAT OF ILL-USED FACTORY HANDS,

AS THE ONLY POSSIBLE ALLEVIATION OF THEIR SUFFERING."

HOW COULD WAGNER HELP BEING A REVOLUTIONIST

WITH HIS EXHALTED IDEA THAT "TRUE ART IS HIGHEST

FREEDOM, AND ONLY THE HIGHEST FREEDOM CAN BRING

FORTH FROM ITSELF." NO COMMANDMENT, NO ORDINANCE,

NO DIRECTIONS--IN SHORT, NO AIM AS ART FROM ART CAN

CALL ART TO RISE.

(( IN CONCLUSION, I REPEAT WITH GALSWORTHY:

THE PURPOSE OF ART IS TO BRING A NEW VISION OF LIFE.

REVOLUTION IS THE ELEMENT WHICH IMPREGNATES LIFE WITH

NEW AIMS, NEW VALUES, NEW VISIONS. HENCE THE CLOSE

RELATION BETWEEN ART AND REVOLUTION.

*By*

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2106b

48 Rupture  
Isadora Duncan



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59066

health I have been in a  
long while. And so I  
jumped on in the whole  
from one affair to another.

In the midst of it all  
I was ~~attracted~~ <sup>attracted</sup> over camp  
by a tragic case reported  
in the papers. One of those  
human tragedies which  
show up the whole prob-  
+ expect of our civilization  
much better than any of  
Rear. The case was of  
a mother who <sup>had</sup> poisoned  
her two children and  
herself.

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59069

31045

though pregnant in the  
the last months of pregnancy  
she had taken place  
herself. One of the children  
was found dead by the  
and the women still together  
were forced to be daily  
ritual and more of a  
American citizens

The papers never  
able to see below the surface  
made this case appear like  
any other mysterious murder  
the repetition of the  
quadruple tragedy as more  
than a common crime

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59068

21045

Indeed the news - paper  
accounts never always  
touching the mere surface  
give one the impression  
that this was an ordinary  
murder committed by  
a ~~degenerate~~ ~~passionate~~  
~~criminal~~ a depraved  
~~man~~

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59688  
21085  
A day later the message  
on the press informed  
the readers that the mother  
who gave passage to  
her children was not  
only a cold blooded murderer  
deceit. She was also  
a degraded woman. She  
had deceived the affection  
of a married man  
and caused him  
to lead a double  
life and ruin. The  
result of her deceit

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59069  
relation were two  
children as he thought  
one on the way. The  
woman coming from  
a bad luck woman  
were a menace to society  
as the women were  
a sinner who had  
enslaved the man  
a disgrace to her  
family. Respectable  
family, a menace to the same  
who deserves death  
The real facts in the

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21.08.6

59040

lads - advanced. Her  
a gold loaded not only  
she was also a deplorable  
woman. She  
exhausted the after clear  
and married  
and lived with her  
caused her to live  
a double life. She  
was not a  
The respect were due  
ultimate children to  
[illegible]

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59070

\* see also next page / 21006

case as they became known  
for a far from sustaining  
the sensational accounts  
disclosed a highly sen-  
sitized human being  
who had been tortured.

by the detective made  
of living <sup>and</sup> haunted by  
fear of discovery. In a  
moment of exasperation  
he gave credence had  
decided on the death of  
his children as well as  
as the only escape from  
Christine's smugness  
which she renewed  
every day which had no  
effect on her at all.

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case as they became known  
from far from sustaining  
the sensational accounts  
disclosed a highly sen-  
sitized human being  
who had been tortured  
by the darkest mode  
of living and haunted by  
fear of discovery. In a  
moment of exasperation  
he gave vent to his  
desires in the death of  
his children as seen again  
as the only escape from  
Christened smugness  
which seemed to have  
no place in the world of  
the new man.

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59071

21086

The real crime of  
this woman, no doubt, the  
law of morality will not  
tolerate, was that she  
loved too well and that  
she gave herself to that  
love without legal  
sanction. Her mis-  
fortune was that she  
was not free in her  
own mind to ~~what~~  
do as she ~~right~~ to  
her love and ~~send~~  
~~not~~ ~~was~~ ~~the~~ ~~subject~~

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5984,  
a kind one are the  
way. He was  
a menace to the safety  
of the same as so many  
it deserves death.  
The real facts in the case  
as they became known  
have been sustained  
I was not

2108b

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21086 59042 / finally  
 44 years as a  
 dancer to her eye  
 was as perfect a lot  
 Christian smuggler  
 The real crime  
 this woman was  
 the law a morality well  
 not tolerate was bad  
 she loved her  
 and that she gave herself  
 to bad love of her  
 at a price she could not  
 continue continue to  
 to

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2108b

59042

If at least they would  
have had the vulgar  
same of our respectable  
married sisters to take their  
pleasure in being  
paid for the job  
under cover of respect-  
ability. For surely  
in this world one must  
be either free and  
unpaid or not  
warily seductive  
and inwardly false

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54073  
The "murderers" of  
children said if at least  
the would have turned  
to children were to  
be "tender" mercy  
of the state, the orphan  
the the charity of you  
person no damage  
to children but for  
the punishment for  
children husband have  
watered the grass  
and looked at me

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59674

In the coverage of my  
the influence of death  
for base and love  
in us to such  
a life must pay  
as desecration.

Disregardful people are  
no longer content with  
such an easy explanation  
of the forces which motivate  
the ~~unusual~~ unusual

acts. And the act of the  
the have learned

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590/5

21086

The thoughtful in ad-  
 vanced circles and  
 radical circles in the  
 city realized at once  
 that whatever may be  
 the cause which makes the  
 woman may have been  
 the cause of the  
 education of the  
 stress on stress endured  
 by the pregnant condition  
 and culminating in the  
 desperate act. All agreed  
 that everything must

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54694  
To the weary mind  
who griefs  
death to such a life  
for those are  
must needs be  
appear dearest  
thru my people who  
know understand the  
depths

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59046  
he gave to save other  
her life  
Our campaign to raise  
public interest in the  
cause was inaugurated  
by at the Boulevard Hotel  
by a symposium of some  
representing various  
professors & different  
social ideas. The secondary  
thing to me of his gathering  
was the complete lack  
of so many diverse  
people in New York

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59044  
 That address legal justice  
 ment of any fault to  
 her woman who has  
 already suffered so much  
 would be sheer happiness  
 to see her in the light  
 view of the justice appeal  
 vice she had done to  
 say when she resumed  
 takes up life in the cars  
 and awakes of her  
 that she has brought dead  
 her children dead.

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59095  
The thoughtless generation  
a radical order saw  
at once but what else  
my age seen the last  
straw to break the women  
spread it was the  
civilization of years  
of terrible stress nervous  
stress in struggle

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2102b

59090  
 as one of the greatest  
 I recorded and that  
 as far as the unskilled  
 modern is concerned  
 death may be just a while  
 to see that life is  
 not a waste of time  
 can ever be the best  
 in existence with the  
 present moment

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59048  
in the awareness how  
the children differ  
as one of the  
I was a parent  
speaker and that if any  
were a same world  
the children of the 90s  
would still be the same  
and she would be  
free to enjoy everything  
and as for the world  
But there is a mark  
World and I am by her  
revelation

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54049  
and negligence  
which stand condemn  
and not particularly  
The most beautiful  
speech if the person  
the one matter  
road was better  
by Isadora Duncan  
she arrived almost  
at the end dressed  
on a power  
and balance

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59680  
a queenly woman  
It was a spectacle  
country on a globe  
if people ~~stop~~  
they ~~under the spell~~  
of a ~~human~~ ~~spell~~  
as a ~~transcendent~~ ~~the~~ ~~spell~~  
modern Miss Duncan  
began to appear the  
the spectacular was  
suggestion ~~these~~ was  
place a dignity in

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59096  
by Lane to  
the.

life.  
The beginning of the  
energetic campaign to  
raise popular interest  
in the cause of the  
woman was made at the  
Hotel. I was one of the  
speakers and also pledged  
my ~~self~~ ~~support~~ ~~to~~ ~~will~~  
understand

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59081

2102

Her grace & dignity  
and her intensely moving  
plea for the unfortunate  
woman whose life was  
in stake inspired me  
evening with deeper mean-  
ing than its pages as-  
se the meaning of free motion  
danced as a universal  
spirit creature of beauty  
in our lives.

~~I said to Isadora Duncan  
dancing her for art~~

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

860717003

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59082

21006

Isadora, I suppose  
 coming to New York that  
 winter, did a tremendous  
 thing for me. It opened  
 up a new vista of the  
 end of the dance of progress  
 which I cannot express  
 how the age of Isadora  
 been taken up by the  
 I simply saw the ballet  
 out all its dancing his  
 and all the years  
 since after a long  
 wondered why people  
 traced almost the Ball

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21026

59082

~~Isadora Duncan~~  
Isadora Duncan was the  
greatest teacher of  
the dance to me  
I had never seen  
her in her youth  
I was teaching her  
in a class when she  
was very young  
wonderful before  
I met her

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59093  
Even the greatest Ballerina  
had left me cold. All they  
represented to me was  
unintelligent & vulgar  
more ~~than~~ ~~any~~ of the other  
notions ~~really~~ ~~applied~~  
through years of training  
of muscular control  
taken of ~~any~~ ~~fact~~ ~~being~~  
in ~~under~~ ~~musical~~ ~~capable~~  
of the rhythm ~~has~~ ~~the~~ ~~human~~  
nature of life ~~just~~  
of

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2108b

59083

Isadora Duncan  
~~her~~ ~~man~~ ~~came~~ ~~to~~  
 NY has written ~~the~~  
 a tremendous ~~the~~  
 experience in ~~the~~  
 we ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~  
 can be ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~  
 since ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~  
 when ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~  
 the ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~  
 it ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~  
 was ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~

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59095

21086

Isadora Duncan  
 and changed all that  
 for me. For the war  
 there was a ~~musical~~  
~~great~~ ~~spirit~~ any  
 elemental force, the  
 human attitude, the  
 human all that ~~human~~  
 of ~~thwart~~ ~~psycho~~ ~~man~~  
 There was no movement  
 marvellously attuned to  
 the music in the world  
 said young and fallen  
 like the reaper and  
 with his foot into  
 accident hang of life  
 I was ~~my~~ ~~fallen~~  
 I ~~people~~ ~~fallen~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~

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59089 21086  
~~don't~~ ~~in~~ ~~should~~ ~~see~~  
~~and~~ ~~in~~ ~~what~~ ~~way~~  
~~the~~ ~~me~~ ~~miss~~ ~~making~~  
~~left~~ ~~contact~~ ~~persons~~  
~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~human~~ ~~body~~  
~~to~~ ~~see~~ ~~the~~ ~~unpleasant~~  
~~process~~ ~~and~~ ~~gave~~  
~~to~~ ~~cause~~ ~~any~~ ~~being~~  
~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~except~~ ~~as~~ ~~my~~  
~~for~~ ~~me~~ ~~as~~ ~~my~~ ~~when~~  
~~person~~ ~~of~~ ~~and~~ ~~away~~  
~~and~~  
 Isadora Duncan  
 and her pupils  
 about my work here

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59096

2106b

every day every  
I could see as distance  
found me with least  
of the country there  
the population down

with the beauty and  
loneliness of the unpopulated  
creatures speaking  
in their dance  
I am the soldier at  
my good friend Robert  
Hendin I caused much  
of Isadora Duncan

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5-9 1883  
in D. H. Hershman  
w. D. H. Hershman  
played in all the days  
day play until now  
after having seen the  
at most of Emma's Ballerina  
D. could not see  
given stopped by the  
sum of all  
see no more in  
than current business  
deeper into what was  
more unnatural, and

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590 87 21086  
I have heard a school  
all the agents in NY  
Heppri told me and  
called for her support  
It is difficult to work  
with Henri each  
were all willing enough  
to help her and I told me  
but she is difficult  
to work with. The search  
the greatest difficulty was  
her antagonism to her  
own sex. She refuses  
womanery and that is  
unnatural. Her support  
the work while women

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59088 21086  
He in NY? Why need  
they care? died age  
dislike to women &  
takes away nothing from  
gen genius. Why couldn't  
they help any way with  
the social wheel?  
would be a marvel on  
any one children  
NY. ~~Good~~ Good nature  
my friend said so  
with a mischievous look  
Henri suggested that  
I might try to persuade  
the women not to mend  
Isadora's open dislike

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2100b

59089  
 I told him that could  
 take more time than  
 I can spare but I  
 would interest people  
 on my side of the East  
 side to fill Isadora's  
 performances at least

I left the room  
 what venturied men  
 dis career my  
 had feel of clay  
 see I must have been  
 same unhappy  
 with some of the  
 to feel

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59096

21086

It certainly can not  
be a sense of revulsion  
so many women suffer  
from. The 21st  
because fascinating  
and such a great  
aptest how can she  
feel any woman  
in any way?

When I heard her  
hear song an mother  
and her singing  
appeal for the unhappy  
victim of our perverted

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59091  
2106L  
Society I was made  
have ever concerned  
but I have was no  
truth in the day  
and read. My <sup>admiration</sup>  
~~over~~ <sup>admiration</sup> for Reagan  
as a great <sup>leader</sup>  
was now strengthened  
by my <sup>enthusiasm</sup>  
for him as a <sup>leader</sup>  
being. I <sup>largely</sup> to  
know her personally.  
~~not~~ <sup>But</sup> ~~knowing~~

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21081

596 92

I longed to ~~know~~  
meet her in a personal  
way but I couldn't  
begin to be one of  
the crowd  
of ~~knowing~~ ~~knowing~~ ~~knowing~~  
burdened with  
people constantly ap-  
pearing? I kept  
along from Isadora  
who had introduced  
me to the great art  
form of the Dance

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21606

59892

through my own  
experience now perhaps  
one is with a by all  
sorts of ~~current~~ people  
9

Isadora Duncan  
perhaps later

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

880208016

German Expressionists / Emma Goldman. — (fragment). — 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.  
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22091

## German Expressionists.

German Expressionism ~~started~~ began not with the postwar writers but with Strindberg and Wedekind. And it is from them that the modern Expressionists have <sup>learned</sup> borrowd. <sup>learned</sup> Never ~~extreme~~theless it can not be denied that the <sup>form</sup> it has taken is due to the war and the general chaotic spirit which exist in the world.

Expressionism is really a symptom of a changing world and is as likely <sup>to</sup> ~~as not to~~ produce the genius who ~~will~~ transcend its circumscribed tenets. That is the value of expressionsim, it is not static, it is fluctuating

X One of the ~~earliest~~ earliest Expressionists after of Wedekind is Gerhardt Hauptmann, not the realistic plays, but the author of the play called The White Redeemer.

<sup>Certainly</sup> The play takes us back to <sup>the</sup> Mexico of Montezuma and <sup>Cortez</sup> the time when ~~the~~ two civilizations met in <sup>an</sup> inevitable clash and the worshippers of the sun god went down before the cross of the conquistadors. Hauptmann calls the play a "dramatic fantasy". It is an epic tragedy of faith <sup>and</sup>. There are eleven scenes, ~~no scene as~~ as many stages of the protagonists ascending <sup>the</sup> path to martyrdom. <sup>From</sup> first to last it is his lot which ~~holds~~ <sup>holds</sup> the reader and over which the author seems to have brooded. ~~He has concen~~trated on the actor and contrast of background, the scenes of



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22092

2.

or calminating antagonisms, the effects of grouping  
"and a certain peasantlike flow of ~~culminating~~xxx  
cumulative episode. ~~Hexatextionhis~~  
*Re first scene in*  
The play opens on the Temple of ~~Quetzalcoatl~~  
of Tenochtitlan. Montazuma listens to the account of the  
Priest about the prophecy according to which a white  
~~redeemer~~  
savior shall ~~redeem~~ come to redeem the son of the Sun  
and his loyal subjects. After three thousand years the time  
for fulfilment of the prophecy is near. Montazuma is  
filled with the fervor of belief; News has come of strange  
arrivals, who seem to ~~foretell~~ *be the* to answer the forecast

~~There are many other things to be said of the scene~~  
Montazumas beliefs is not shared by his advisors  
young Cacemazin warns him from the first not to trust the d  
~~amazing~~ prophecy. Montazuma is deaf to all entray. But in the  
end his advisors conquer and Montazuma is sacrificed for  
~~faithful~~ to state intrigue and mob fickleness.

The White Redeemer is psychologic rather than  
dramtic, thoughts and not deeds are presented, but with it  
all it is tremendously impressive and effective in the  
reading and even more so ~~in the~~ on the stage.

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22093

The spook Sonata with its morbidly fascinating ce  
concept of the room where falsehood reigns and life's  
ugly shams are pitilessly revealed.

---

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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German Expressionists / Emma Goldman. — (fragment). — 3 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.  
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22088

## German Expressionists.

Expressionism though it become prominent as a post-war art, ~~it~~ had its beginnings long before the war. its originators were Strindberg in Sweden, Wedekind in Germany and Leonid Andreve in Russia. Especially was it Andreve who in the Black Maskers and He Who Got Slapped used the Expressionistick form of stage presentation. But even the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ extreme German expressionists began to write long before the war. Kaiser for instance. I will be able to demonstrate that when I discuss some of his works.

Now, what really is Expressionism? It is a reaction against the realists of the ninties. Or still more explicit Expressionism represents the study of ideas as against the Realistic drama which was the study of social phenomenon. Expressionism is subconscious thought turned into conscious action. But perhaps it will be best to let the foremost interpreter of Expressionism speak for the new form of art, Edschmith The German writer Edschmith tell us that "Art must become positive, ~~active~~ <sup>use</sup> active, it must ~~come~~ <sup>rise</sup> from the

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22089

2.

inspection of detail to the all-informing spirit /  
Art must ascend the vision upon the wings of universal  
feeling. The work of art must germinate from an idea.  
Both, the dramatist and his creatures must bear the  
impress of an idea. Things and persons are to be  
released from their manifold inter-relation and speak  
out of themselves alohe. <sup>freed</sup> "an ~~limited~~ from all limitations  
becomes once more capable of deep, immediate feeling."

<sup>made</sup> In ~~more~~ simpler language, I would say that Expressionism is the reaction against all the forces that have tried to bind the spirit of the individual, it is the storm and stress period of youth trying to shake of the fetters of old age, old traditions, conventions, habits, the dead weight of old ideas. So far Expressionism has is still an aim rather than an achievement. But that is its value, for <sup>expressionism is a aim</sup> once it will be achieved it will become stationary, as dead as the forces it set out to slay.

I said that the forerunners of the post war Expressionists were Strindberg, Wedekind, Andreve



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22090

Andreve's expressionism is represented in his  
play "He Who Got Slapped"

Man or He tries to fulfill his destiny in books, in  
learning. ~~He attempts to become a God, but as the individual~~  
~~can not break away from the groupings in the mass, He tries~~  
~~After his failure to reach lofty heights and betrayed~~  
by those He loved and trusted, he resolves to efface himself  
in the obscurity of life. He becomes a clown in a circus  
whose role is to be slapped for the amusement of the public.  
But the real kernel of the play is in the laughter of the  
spectators who are never seen. They laugh unwittingly  
at their own emptiness, their own culture, above everything  
they laugh at their own failures of which they are not even  
aware.

*Gerhardt Hauptmann*

In Gerhardt Hauptmann's recent play he has proven that he  
is capable of growth. He, the foremost pioneer of realism in  
Germany has also ~~shown himself~~ written an expressionistic  
work, the White Redeemer.

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22239

-27

## ART TEACHING

By art teaching I hasten to say that I do not mean giving children lessons in freehand drawing and perspective. I am simply calling attention to the fact that fine art is the only teacher except torture. I have already pointed out that nobody, except under threat of torture, can read a school book. The reason is that a school book is not a work of art. Similarly, you cannot listen to a lesson or a sermon unless the teacher or the preacher is an artist. You cannot read the Bible if you have no sense of literary art. The reason why the continental European is, to the Englishman or American, so surprisingly ignorant of the Bible, is that the authorized English version is a great work of literary art, and the continental versions are comparatively artless. To read a dull book; to listen to a tedious play or prosy sermon or lecture; to stare at uninteresting pictures or ugly buildings: nothing, short of disease, is more dreadful than this. The violence done to our souls by it leaves injuries and produces subtle maladies which have never been properly studied by psychopatologists.

(Page 95)

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2 2 2 4 0

-28-

And it really all comes from the habit of preventing children from being troublesome. You are so careful of your boy's morals, knowing how troublesome they may be, that you keep him away from the Venus of Milo only to find him in the arms of the scullery maid or someone much worse. You decide that the Hermes of Praxiteles and Wagner's Tristan are not suited for young girls; and your daughter marries somebody appallingly unlike either Hermes or Tristan solely to escape from your parental protection. You have not stifled a single passion, nor averted a single danger: you have depraved the passions by starving them, and broken down all the defences which so effectively protect children brought up in freedom. You have men who imagine themselves to be ministers of religion openly declaring that when they pass through the streets they have to keep out in the wheeled traffic to avoid the temptations of the pavement. You have them organizing hunts of the women who tempt them - poor creatures whom no artist would touch without a shudder - and wildly clamoring for more clothes to disguise and conceal the body, and for the abolition of pictures, statues, theatres, and pretty colors. And, incredible as it seems, these unhappy lunatics are left at large, unrebuked, even admired and revered, whilst artists have to struggle for toleration. To them an undraped human body is the most monstrous, the most blighting,

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22241

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the most obscene, the most unbearable spectacle in the universe. To an artist it is, at its best, the most admirable spectacle in nature, and, at its average, an object of indifference.

(Pages 99 - 100)

. . . . .

In short, we all grow up stupid and mad to just the extent to which we have not been artistically educated; and the fact that this taint of stupidity and madness has to be tolerated because it is general, and is even boasted of as characteristically English, makes the situation all the worse. It is becoming exceedingly grave at present, because the last ray of art is being cut off from our schools by the discontinuance of religious education.

(Page 100)

. . . . .



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"Angels' Wings": Art and Democracy. (Wagner, Millet, and Whitman) / Emma Goldman.— (fragment).— 26 p. ; 36 × 21 cm.

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## ART AND DEMOCRACY

Angels' wings

( WAGNER, MILLET, AND WHITMAN )

Richard Wagner was born in 1813, J.F. Millet in 1814, and Walt Whitman in 1819. In 1845 took place the first performance of Tannhauser, at Dresden; in 1850 the "Sower" was exhibited at the Paris Salon; and in 1855 a portion of Leaves of Grass appeared at New York--each of these productions being the first instalment of a whole series of works which were destined to make a profound and revolutionary impression on their respective branches of Art, and on the conception of Art generally as a whole. All three men were revolutionaries, in more than one sense of the word. Wagner was arrested in the streets of Dresden for complicity in the riots of '48; Millet was nicknamed the "Wild Man of the Woods" by his fellow-students, and accused of being a "Socialist" by his critics; Whitman was ejected from his clerkship in the Treasury at Washington on account of the wickedness of his poems. All three used new methods in their art-work, which we shall have to examine presently. And (what is of most importance to us here) all three thought, and wrote at some length, on the subject of Art generally, its meaning and methods.

Says Walt Whitman, in a well-known passage of his preface in the 1855 edition of Leaves of Grass:-

"The art of art, the glory of expression and the sunshine of the light of letters, is simplicity. Nothing is better than simplicity-- nothing can make up for excess, or for lack of definiteness. To carry on the heave of impulse and pierce intellectual depths and give all subjects

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p59

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their articulations, are powers neither common nor very uncommon.

But to speak in literature with the perfect rectitude and insouciance of the movements of animals, and the unimpeachableness of the sentiment of trees in the woods and grass by the roadside, is the flawless triumph of art. If you have look'd on him who has achiev'd it you have look'd on one of the masters of the artists of all nations and times.....The great poet has less a mark'd style, and is more the channel of thoughts and things without increase or diminution, and is the free channel of himself. He swears to his art, I will not be meddling, I will not have in my writing any elegance, or effect, or originality, to hang in the way between me and the rest like curtains. I will have nothing hang in the way, not the richest curtains. what I tell I tell for precisely what it is.....What I experience or portray shall go from my composition without a shred of my composition. You shall stand by my side and look in the mirror with me."

There are some curious points of resemblance in these two passages from Millet and Whitman, which we may note just here. There is that idea of the necessity, the inevitableness, the absolute directness of all good art-work, as they conceived it, which is at the farthest pole from the elaborate study of artificial effects and the grandiose style. Whitman does not want the richest curtains to hang between him and others. Millet cannot sufficiently express his abhorrence of inutilites and replissages.

In Wagner's writings-- in Art and Revolution, in The Art-work of the Future, in Art and Climate, and A Communication to my Friends-- these points are also strongly accented. Everywhere he insists on need, Necessity, as the great inspiration;

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860

"Need being at the root of things, at the other pole we find fashion and custom--and the machine-made"; without need, "Art degenerates to Mannerism." Everywhere he is down on the rich and cultured and intellectual classes who, living divorced from actual needs and life, trifle with Art to make it a toy and a plaything.

Wagner considered Art to be as it were the reflected glories which are thrown on the clouds of sunset--most beautiful soon after the disappearance of the luminary, and gradually fading away, with its memory, into a night-time of mere tradition and convention.

Whitman, as he constantly tells us, accepted most heartily the foregoing literature and literary forms. Then why did he not use the old literary forms? But the question is, why should he use them? Anyone who reads such a poem as Shelley's "Adonais" intelligently, must see that the high-water mark of expression in rhyme and metre of this kind has already been reached. Nothing more perfect in that line can possibly be done. Other work may be done, and has been done, within the same limits of form and expression; but no work can be done in the same form which shall at the same time enlarge the boundary of human expression. Shelley's best verse, prophetically inspired, is iridescent, like the clouds of sunrise, with all the glory which its form could possibly bear.

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But Whitman had new things to say which had not been said before. He had to enlarge the boundary of human expression; and not knowing how to do this he reverted to the primitive law-- the law that inspired Biblical and all early poetry--namely, that human feeling (if strong enough, clear enough, direct enough) compels speech to its own rhythm. Says Thoreau of the question of style: "If a man has anything to say, it drops from him simply and directly, as a stone falls to the ground. There are no two ways about it, but down it comes." Here we have "need" again lying at the root of the matter.

Whitman had the tramp of nations to put into his verse; the whole gamut of human emotion and experience, from end to end, without omission or concealment; an intense consciousness of the Actual, the living Whole of the Universe, and of that Whole as justifying and giving "its place" to each detail. His verse inspired with such burdens escapes from formal laws, and comes running in, line after line, line after line, as the waves of the sea come, tossing with vigor, glancing in beauty--and each wave you feel could not be different from what it is. That is the thing--each wave of the sea is held there in its form by the whole of Nature; and when there is the same thing in a line of verse, criticism is powerless and useless:--

"My spirit has passed in compassion and determination around  
the whole earth,

I have look'd for equals and lovers, and found them ready for  
me in all lands."



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How simple and direct, like a stone falling to the ground!  
and yet how large! and how could it all possibly be expressed  
in any better way than it is? And yet how many such lines are  
there in *Leaves of Grass*!

I have said that Whitman had it in him to omit, to refuse,  
nothing: to be realistic in the strongest sense. But the old  
verse standards do most distinctly refuse certain words, phrases,  
effects. Then how could he use them?

He had also to express that marvellous and abounding  
sympathy of his, which leads him to identify himself (no mere  
play of words) with objects and people—"I am the hounded slave,  
I wince at the bite of the dogs.....I am an old artillerist.....  
My voice is the wife's voice," etc. Is it not evident that the  
swift change of mental attitude which all this involves would  
be impossible of expression in the old verse? The very fact  
of its formalities, like the ceremoniousness of a polite person,  
would detract from its freedom of adaptation to every possible  
situation, and from the close sense of contact with a living  
man, which the author desired to give.

Whitman's verse in its most successful passages, so mag-  
nificent in its effects, so democratic in feeling, so democratic  
in form, is more absolute in expression, more real in its content,  
burns brighter in the nearness of sunrise, even than Shelley's;  
and yet lies so near along to Nature and the innocent naivety

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of the speech of a child, that some people are inclined to deny to it the quality of Art at all!

When Beethoven died Wagner was a boy of fourteen. Wagner accepted Beethoven to the full. His monograph on the latter is probably the profoundest and most cordial acceptance that exists. He felt---as everyone must---that Beethoven had touched the high-water mark of the Symphony and Sonata-form---in the regions of pure Tonality, at any rate.

~~Wagner returned;--he brought back again, instruments, discords, and all, to the Voice;--to the~~

His music (he always says so himself) is nothing if not the direct outcome and reinforcement of Speech, and so of the Feeling beneath speech. Speech--cadences, even the actual words, rule his melodic sequences.

As to his politico-democratic sentiments, Wagner has quite sufficiently expressed them in such passages as the following: "Our modern factories afford us the sad picture of the deepest degradation of man---constant labor killing both body and soul, without joy ~~and~~ or love, often almost without aim"; or in his scorn of "Folk-improvers, who would trickle drops of Music's honey upon the acid sweat of ill-used factory hands, as the only possible alleviation of their sufferings."

That girl, half-muffled in an old cloak, standing with her immense boots clogged to earth on the clayey edge of a pond, trying

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with slackened rope held at arm's length to coax her cow to  
drink---can you not see, ten thousand times repeated, her dull  
lethargic home life, the silent overworked half-brutish father  
and brothers, the dim gleams of thought awaking in her, to so  
little response from anyone? That woman knitting by lamplight,  
pausing for a moment to count the stitches---her babe slumbering  
in the cradle beside her---how old as the hills is the subject,  
and common as grass, and yet how poignantly tender!

In such pictures as the "Sheep Girl" (La Bergere) with  
its endless distance over the plains, and loneliness, save for  
the crowds of sheep cropping, or the "Going to Work" (a farm  
lad and lass striding forth side by side in their sabots) he  
obtains by his absolute fidelity to fact those searching and  
irresistible effects which can only be given by Nature herself,  
and the Art which lies, so to speak, in her bosom; and in such  
works as the weird, gaunt, ungainly "Man with the Hoe," the  
"Pigkillers," or the "Vinedresser Resting," it really seems as  
if he had deliberately chosen the most unlikely of figures and  
compelled one to love them, the harshest discords of life and  
made them fall into harmony. Two men, rude and dirty, carrying  
a calf on a hurdle from the fields, and yet the overpowering  
impression conveyed is the tenderness of their feeling for the  
new-born thing!

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From these brief notes perhaps a few points as to the Democratic art of the future may emerge. When the time at length arrives for Life itself to become lovely and gracious, Art as a separate thing from actual life will surely surrender much of its importance; the sense and expression of Beauty will penetrate all our activities. But before that it is more than possible that there will be a great outburst of special art-production, inspired chiefly by the splendors of the coming sunrise. Of this outburst Wagner, Millet, and Whitman are the great forerunners---Shelley as the lark which almost before dawn soared from the darkened earth. Without wishing to limit too closely the achievements of these three men, we may say that certain common marks distinguish their work and methods. These are (1) Strong Realism and acceptance of the Actual---all facts of life, all discords, nothing blinked or concealed, this involving a kind of primitive directness of method and style, the opposite pole of all formalism and artificiality; (2) an intense sense of the Whole and acceptance of the universal and unseen, by which alone the brute facts can be redeemed and set "in place," involving for its expression utmost command of all the resources of Art, perfect mastery of style, and the power of making the same motive appear in myriads of forms; and (3) a most intimate, prophetic sense of the life of the People, a perception through each individual, even the lowest, of the vast unuttered human heart, the revelation in dim outline of the gods, carrying with it a sense of sympathy, and even of



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triumphant joy and gladness, hardly conceived in Art before.

## NATURE AND REALISM IN ART

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"Art has but one principle, one aim---to produce an impression, a powerful impression, no matter by what means, or if it be by reversing all the canons of taste and criticism."

## THE HUMAN BODY IN ITS RELATION TO ART

"Nature indeed" writes Whistler "contains the elements in colour and form of all pictures, as the key-board contains the notes of all Music. But the artist is born to pick, and choose, and group with science these elements, that the result may be beautiful---as the musician gathers his notes, and forms chords, until he brings forth from chaos glorious harmony." The summation of Painting will be reached, he believes, "when there is a public which will make no demand for definite subjects, but be content with tones and harmonious combinations of colour."

And then, say, a stanza from Francis Adams, the revolutionary poet:-

"In the black night, along the mud-deep roads,  
Amid the threatening boughs and ghastly streams,  
Hark! sounds that gird the darkneses like goads,  
Murmurs and rumours and reverberant dreams,  
Tramplings, breaths, movements, and a little light--  
The marching of the Army of the Night."

The same with the literary artist, the poet or novelist.

Notwithstanding the outlines sketched by Whitman, and less healthily by Zola and Ibsen, the world still waits for anything like a large and artistic treatment of this grand subject. It is

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hardly too much to say that during the long anaemic period since the Elizabethan writers, the suppression of the sexual has led to the enfeeblement of all the highest work in English literature. To read Milton, Shelley, Wordsworth, or Tennyson or Browning, is certainly to be aware of great beauties.

Physiology and Zoology indeed show us that the Sexual lies at the root of Beauty and the Art-sense--that it cannot and must not be ignored. The sex-life, from the most primitive forms onwards, seeks union, cohesion. Everywhere it is making signals of attraction: in plants by the bright colors and forms of the flowers; in birds by the winning sweetness of their song. The bower-bird of Australia decorates its "run" with flowers and feathers, the Amblyornis of New Guinea spreads for its amours a mossy lawn, which it ornaments with shells and berries; with its tail---a hundred gorgeous eyes quivering in the sun---the peacock mesmerizes its mate; the elks hoot to each other across the forests; the fireflies flash their lamps at night; the air is full of mystic odors wafted. Every faculty and form of Nature is laid under contribution for the expression of the great need of union which surges up through the animal world. Everything is turned into an indication, a symbol, a token, a message, a call. The faculty is a social one. It is the beginning of the panorama of Art.

It seems a pity to think that so great man as Tolstoy cannot see this; that he should be so completely dominated by

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the fear of the senses, that he cannot see the blasphemy there is in denying and crippling the human body; that he perceives no alternative to being a slave to passion, except the killing of it dead. He inveighs, not without reason doubtless, against the modern French novelist in whose pages the word "naked" looms so large, and does not see that to shun the word or the fact of nakedness is every bit as indecent, as to revel inordinately in it. It is just in the free sane acceptance of nakedness and grossness as of any other fact or facts that salvation lies. It is just in the facing of all these facts of life and Nature, and in a sense rising out of them into another plane in which they are seen equalised, and their true relation to each other is discerned, that that little word (Beauty) comes in—which to Tolstoy, alas! comes in only like a guest with a stranger's face, since to him it has no meaning but sensuality.

We shall not I think go very far wrong if we say that in the free sane acceptance of the human Body, in all its faculties, lies the Master-key to the Art of the future.

### THE INDIVIDUAL IMPRESSION

Thus it happens that great and effective Art is always the product of titanic labors and even sufferings. Here too (as in other cases) the Kingdom of Heaven is taken by Force. Here is a new feeling surging within the man, for which there is no utterance to be found in all the Literature, the Art, the Life, of the day. An Angel has come down from heaven; yet no one

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says a word about it! The human multitude stares and sees nothing, like a herd of cows chewing the cud. Yet to the artist it is the most real thing in the world. Utterance he must have. He is like a woman in travail till he is delivered. Tradition and Custom of course are against him. They have been framed to express what has been felt before, but what have they to do with anything new? They are like a net close-knit and covering everything. The man is strangled, mad. He cannot move without rending or violating something. Yet the birth within him is sacred, nor is it possible to smother that.

Thus there is an everlasting feud between the Individual and the Tradition. For each new feeling must come to light through the Individual first. Nay more, there is something original, authentic, in every Individual---that which makes him different from every other in the universe. Only go far enough, deep enough, into your own nature and you are sure to haul up something which will get you into trouble with the world. The Tradition of the race embodies its Religion, its collective Consciousness and Life, and to challenge that is to be a criminal and an outcast, a madman and an atheist---it is to play the part of Satan and the Titans, whose business it is to continually storm heaven and purify the scandals of Olympus. It is certainly a consolation to think that to be "wicked" may be of some use, but that to be "good" means little else than acquiescence with

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what exists. To be a sheep---is only to be a sheep; but a goat is at least an intelligent and interesting animal.

And this feud between the Individual and the Tradition covers the ground not only of Art but of social affairs. The same needs and emotions which are appealing for expression through the Artist are---perhaps in slightly different form---seeking utterance through other individuals in actual life; and the ideas which are going to dominate the life of an epoch often (as said in the preceding paper) appear in Art simultaneously or beforehand. We have spoken of the Renaissance; but it is impossible to separate the art-work of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from the immense social changes of that time. The Reformation, the new ideas associated with such names as Caxton, Columbus, Galileo, Bruno, Thomas More, Campanella, the vast enlargement of human activities in all directions, are all reflected in the new subjects, the greater range, the deeply changed sentiments of the contemporary poets and painters, compared with the mediaevalists. At an earlier time the stream of Egyptian religion through Alexandria, and the worship of the goddess Isis, meeting with the Germanic and Gothic tradition of the dignity and influence of women, resulted in the great series of the Madonnas of the Christian painters---which for centuries expressed and became the symbol of the growing power and sanctity of the woman in social life.

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In the seventeenth century after the War of Independence in the Netherlands, and with the establishment there of religious and political freedom, arose the great Dutch schools of painting--- in which the actual home-life of the people and the native beauty of the landscape were for the first time in History worthily celebrated; and in which portrait-painting, of free manhood and womanhood, became such a Great art. With Louis XV. and the whipped cream of Court Life in France came the Rococo style. Later, at the end of the eighteenth century, we find a reaction back to the classical mode of painting; and this curiously illustrated by the endeavors of the French revolutionaries to establish their new society after Greek and Roman models!

No one can well refuse to see Beethoven's relation to the social changes of his time---even supposing some of his works, like the third and ninth Symphonies, did not afford direct evidence of this. But even Mozart, in his later days, was infected by the same spirit. It is in fact impossible to listen to his Jupiter Symphony (his last, and composed in 1778) without hearing through it something like the movement of masses of people, and the onward tramp of nations.

"To be absolutely oneself"---and to be oneself through the profoundest sympathy with one's subject---that seems to be the secret. And yet it is a thing so difficult to attain, for the individual grows up amid the traditions and usages of his time---swaddled and swathed, nay, well-nigh smothered in them---

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and it is long, long before he comes to his own deliverance,  
long before he comes to really see hear feel for himself, and  
to let the aureole of his own spirit (not another's) dwell upon  
the shadow-forms of outer Nature. Yet in some, in the few,  
this impetus is ~~that~~ so strong that through toils and sufferings,  
through huge mistakes and elephantine failure, through endless  
labor and perseverance, and slow detail of adjustment, as of the  
polishing of lenses and mirrors, the inner splendor is at last  
brought to shine clear and untampered on the world. Following  
the lead of some divine unapprehended instinct--the sheer  
need for expression of something which lies at the root of  
themselves--neither good nor wicked, moral nor immoral--they  
produce effects which no calculation could provide.

"The Splendours of the Firmament of Time  
May be eclipsed, but are extinguished not;  
Like stars to their appointed height they climb,  
And Death is a low mist which cannot blot  
The brightness it may veil."

Though they stand grouped in their constellations yet  
each adds something of his own to the tradition in which he is  
imbedded, each one sheds his lustre on a new region of universal  
Nature, each one imparts a quality, a flavor, whispers a message  
to the soul, which none else is able to convey.

Think of the cluster of the Greek poets---of Aeschylus,  
Aristophanes, Pindar, Theocritus, Sappho; or of Plautus,  
Juvenal, Catullus among the Romans; could words convey more  
different meanings than these names do?

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Or of the great artists of Mediaeval and Renaissance Europe---of Giotto, the friend of Dante, or the St. Francis-like Fra Angelico; of Masaccio, with his clear-eyed Greek genius, or of the sturdy-souled truth-loving Lurer with his fantastic Northern imagination; or of the careful tender Lancelotti; of the far-reaching, far-experienced Titian---a very Goethe among painters; or of his pupil, the indomitable Tintoretto. Of the heaven-scaling Michel Angelo---for whom the human (male) form was the emblem of the highest truth; or of Raphael, all earthly grace and Italian lucidity---lover and glorifier of Women.

Think of the wonderful individualities that dart their rays through the music of Europe---the romantic thrill and intensity of the Italian Pergolesi; the broad-foreheaded, largo-hearted, simple and grand-outlined work of the German Gluck; the vague religious dreaming of Palestrina; the strong handling of interlacing themes---the sense of the interplay of human life and character--- in Sebastian Bach; the noble open-air sentiment of Purcell; the endless romance of Schubert; the inspired stage-effects of Wagner.

Think, to come nearer our own time, of William Blake, that curious anomaly, that cockney prophet-artist who at the outset of a new era combined in himself the Greek and the Goth and the Hebrew; and then of Heine, in keen, subtle, heart-piercing pathos and satire, in delicate flower-like perfection of form unrivalled. Think of the dreamy afternoon glow---as of summer

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in an orchard---of Keats; or the clear midday daylight (without sun) of Wordsworth; or of Byron; or of Goethe; or Schiller; or of the jewelled constellation of French writers that gather round the name of Victor Hugo---the keen intellectual perfection of Leconte-de-Lisle (as of a six-rayed star), the tender warmth of Alfred de Musset, the delicate radiance of Theophile Gautier, the humanity of Sully Prudhomme, or the phosphorescent shine of Audelaire or Verlaine.

It might sometimes seem as if in the empyrean of Art, Humanity were building itself a home---how shall we express these things---a home beyond the reach of Time. It is a world of human Expression, with which Time has intrinsically nothing to do. One period or place or race truly may be more apt for a certain phase of human expression than another; but all phases and expressions build the total, which is the heart of Man; and all, however seemingly diverse, are really linked and akin---the deeper they go, the more deeply linked. In the unfoldment of this great series of emotions, in their infinite variety, Time no doubt plays its part (but so in the notation and rendering of a musical symphony does time play its part); yet the idea, the message, the feeling, the emotion conveyed by the whole is and remains beyond the reach of Time. All the individual achievements in Art in all periods and places---every note which is truly a result of individual experience---all rooting back and down into the common underlying bases of Humanity, are really

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organic with each other, and together (and together only) constitute its complete expression. It only needs perhaps for our consciousness to slip through the thin veil of the momentary and ephemeral, in order to perceive this other world of union with our fellows, and our nearness and at-home-ness in every part of it.

It is in the individual and the feelings of which he is capable, that the secret of power, of style, of everything, lies. In a sense the individual impression is the highest effect that the artist can aim at. Indeed it is the only effect that is granted to mortals---either in Art or in Life--the utterance of one's own authentic sensation. But if it is to be a profound effect, it must be because the sensation expressed is profound, reaching back to the great bases of Humanity, which lie at the root of every individual.

And since every individual is different from every other--represents so to speak a different branch along which mankind is growing---so every authentic impression is different from every other. Let twenty artists paint the same portrait--or the same scene from Nature; and lo! the pictures stare at each other with strange eyes! Here is the Barbizon school in the midst of the Forest of Fontainebleau---Rousseau, Millet, Corot, Diaz, all working side by side---yet how unlike are their renderings! Is it possible that these were the same trees, the same peasants, which they were painting? Yes--we say that they were the same trees, the same scenes; but we only know what we see ourselves.

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In the individualism which, as we said at the close of last chapter, marks the most modern work--the tendency of each artist : imply to please himself--there would certainly be a destructive disintegrating force were it not for the fact that the deeper one goes into himself the nearer he must come to the Common Life. It is perfectly true of course that in a lot of the productions of the present day (as of all days)--with their bizarre or grotesque or languid or trivial effects--we do not penetrate deep at all or come near to anything very ~~the~~ vital. Such works are only perhaps of importance, as marking an extremend a turning-point. They are the last decedent twigs of a great tree. But the tree is alive enough, and the relation of each great branch to the parent trunk was never perhaps so clear and authentic as now.

The religious forms of one race have in the past been continually replaced by those of another. But to-day Art is world-wide. There is no new race to overrun and re-inspire us. The Religion of the future must come from the bosom itself of the modern peoples; It must be

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She will perceive that her function consists in something much more real, more positive: that it consists in actually drawing human beings together revealing to them mutually their own feelings, their own inner life and consciousness, and the sentiment of every object, every event, as it relates itself (through the individual artist) to the great thrilling, palpitating soul of all mankind. For the first time the sense of this great soul is dawning consciously upon us. All life will be worked in--the most lonely, the most complex, the most inaccessible subjects, in order that they may wake response in the few that can understand them; and again the simplest and most universal, and in the simplest forms, in order that their portrayal may make the whole world kin. To make mankind realise their unity, to make them feel it, that will be the inspiration and the province of art.

Science and Art are, as Tolstoy suggest, like two great organs, Lungs and heart-- or should we not say Brain and heart?--of the new Body of Society; the one should make us understand our relation to the whole, the other should make us feel it. And the realisation of this Common Life is the Religion of the future, of which the artists and science-workers will be priests; but which will penetrate all society and of which all the people will in a sense be interpreters--working to understand the secret of their being, working to express their sense of it--to open the flowers of their myriad hearts to each other, for mutual recognition. Before the great anonymous work and life of the People thus freed, before the myriad products of their loving skill in the sunrise of that new day, all the names and works of the "stars" that have illuminated the art-and-science-world of the past will in a sense



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fade into insignificance.

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Everything in modern art points in this direction, towards inclusion, towards the acceptance of all points of view--of the grossest material facts, of the most divergent subjects, of the most subtle and far-reaching harmonies. Nihil Humani Alienum. Since the first French Revolution this new idea, a new sense of unity, a new religion, has begun to penetrate mankind. Beethoven, Millet, Whitman, the most powerful personalities, have also shown the widest sympathies, the most absolute acceptance of the world. In a quite broad sense they have been at once the strongest Idealists and the strongest Realists. The greatest of modern artists, they have darted the rays of their individuality to the farthest limits in all directions, and yet at the same time have sought the most common ground of simple humanity, and are the most universally loved. The human spirit in the nineteenth century has been explored to its depths. Its unity with itself, its unity with Nature, has been achieved and demonstrated. There only remains for art to penetrate the life itself of the people and achieve and demonstrate the same unity there.

### Beethoven and his earlier piano sonatas.

Unlike the musicians who went before him he could brook no dependence upon condescending nobilities. He was not going to be a Court Fool. The man who could rush into the court, and of his really sincere friend and "patron" Prince Lobkowitz and shout "Lobkowitz donkey, Lobkowitz donkey," for all the valets and chambermaids to hear; or who could leave his humble lodgings because the over-polite landlord of the house would insist on doffing his hat when they passed up, the stairs; most have had something of "the devil in

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1 This was the verdict of Hummel, Vogler, Celinck, and others when they first heard him improvise, on his arrival at Vienna.

In politics, in a quite general way, he evolved radicalism or republicanism as his creed; in religion, though nominally Catholic, he was quite informal. A pantheist one might perhaps call him, or a mystic after Eckhardt and Tauler. Finally, one may mention, as an indication of the great range and strength of his personality, its exceeding slow growth. While Mozart at the age of twenty-three had written a great number of Operas, Symphonies, Cantatas and Masses -- many of them quite mature character -- Beethoven at the same age had little or nothing to show. His first symphony and his Septett, which he always looked back upon as childish productions, were not written till about the age of twenty-seven; and his first great Symphony (the Eroica) not till he was thirty-two.

### THE AGE OF LIFE

Life is expression. If you think of it, you will see more and more that it is a movement from within outwards -- an unfolding, a development. To obtain a place, a free field, a harmonious expansion, for your activities, your tastes, your feelings your personality, your self, in fact, is to Live. To be blocked on all sides, pinned down, maimed, and thrust out of existence, is to Die.<sup>1</sup>

1 It may of course be a question whether the human soul can be completely blocked and thrust out of existence, whether in fact what we call mutilation and death does not ~~not~~ always mean growth and expansion on some other side. However here we are concerned with Life on the side that we know, or may know best.

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Yet how many of us pass through like this! On all sides we are walled in by Fashion, Convention, Custom; things are done in an habitual meaningless way which expresses nothing except common tradition, or the remains of it---certainly in a way which does not express our feelings. We drift along in idle conformity, simply following the common rut--afraid to show our hands. Or we are enslaved to the bread and butter question and only claim to be ourselves for an hour or two out of the twenty-four. It is not real Life; it is not anything. It is the existence of a sheep, unworthy of the children of that Prometheus who stole fire from heaven, or even of our mother Eve who ate--simply because she desired it--of the fruit of the tree that stood in the midst of the garden.

The primary object of life is Expression. In painting a picture or composing a song there is immense pleasure; but the man during his work is not occupied with thinking how much pleasure he is getting, but whether he is getting the Expression right, and the pleasure comes to him collaterally in every successful stroke. So in Life, if we put the pleasure first we get the Expression wrong; but if we put the Expression first, the pleasure follows infallibly, and without end. (And so too in Love, which is "the master of all the arts.")

Life is Expression. The more we think about it, the more we see that what is satisfactory in it is the output of ourselves, our deepest feelings: of our Love, as in wife and

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

860712054

"Angels' Wings": Art and Democracy. (Wagner, Millet, and Whitman) / Emma Goldman.— (fragment).— 26 p. ; 36 x 21 cm.

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-24-

d.v.

children and harmonious household; of our Strength and Intelligence, as in our work of every kind. To reate round oneself an external world which answers to the world within is indeed a great happiness, and the fulness of Life.

We are approaching a great culmination in the history of the human race. We are approaching a period when mankind will rise to something like a true understanding of Life, and to a subjugation of Materials to the need of Expression. Hitherto this has been impossible. Hitherto the scramble for existence has so dominated society, that the mass of men have been forced to forego any effective expression of themselves. They have been slaves to materials, content to scrape them together as best they could for the satisfaction of one or two elementary needs--like hunger.

I say the scramble for existence has so far dominated society in the past, that the mass of men have worked, not to create, not to create round themselves a world answering to the world within; but simply in a negative way, to avoid penury, to avoid starvation, to satisfy one or two beggarly needs, to please their masters. But such work expresses nothing--nothing but what is beggarly. The time is coming when man will rise into command of materials. He will not work from fear but from Love---not from slavish compulsion but from a real live interest in the creation of his hands. Then, at last, and after all these centuries, his Work, his very Life, will become an Art---

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882

it will be an expression of himself; it will be a word of welcome to someone else. Everything that a man creates, be it only the simplest object for the use of himself or his neighbor, the installation of his house or garden, or the speciality which he supplies to the community, will be touched by the spirit of beauty. It will be the free product of his own nature, of his own activity--the expression of that harmony within which alone makes true work possible.

While men labor as they do to-day--without hope, without interest, without love, without expression, in sordidness and weariness and squalor of mind and of body, the ban of Ugliness inevitably rests on everything that is produced. In this December sea of ugliness that surrounds and engulfs all modern life, the Fine Arts, so-called, like so many crazy, summer-rigged yachts, toss fitfully about, with no certain destination or purpose, but in a heroic endeavor at least to keep afloat! The art of Expression, which is the very art of Life's Navigation, has been lost. Our daily lives have lost all directness, all authenticity; we are full of lies and conformity; we do not express ourselves in our social life, when we walk, when we speak, when we work at our trade; how then shall we suddenly learn to do so when we retire into our studios and lock the door?

When people seize life rightly they will make their daily work expressive. They will see that this, the great joy of expression, must penetrate all life---and since our daily work

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- 26 -

is three-fourths of life it must penetrate that. Manual work, once become spontaneous and voluntary, instead of servile--as it is to-day---will inevitably become artistic. There is no other possibility, and the world will be full of beautiful things which will mirror to us the thoughts and hearts of those that made them---of our fellows.

The key to the expression of one's true self is boldness. William Blake said the true artist should always err in the direction of excess. Boldness and loving Acceptance.

What a great Artist he is who extends the area of expression in daily life, who redeems something else into the great Harmony--who teaches us how to put a new color on things, or to give them a new form or attitude! in the drawing-room, or the street, or on the platform, to give what has been banished, its name and simple utterance; or what we secretly admire, its frank performance; who finds us a word, a gesture, a manner of life, which supplies the expression we have so long needed, and delivers to light and air one more little petal of our souls. How well worthy of our ambition are triumphs in this great field ---which appeals so closely to every human being!

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2287

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Alex Hood Anderson

Pioneer in the Little Theatre movement The Hull House Dramatic Association organized by the Hull House Settlement in Chicago in 1900. This society gave mostly foreign plays because the American drama in the modern sense had not yet been born.

In 1905 a group of people, writers, actors and social workers came together in N.Y. City and organized the Progressive Stage Society with weekly performances of foreign plays. We gave ~~Schit~~ Schnitzler, Ibsen, Bernstein Bornson, Sudermann Hauptman and Bernard Shaw. But New York audiences no in interest or understanding for modern plays, so the venture was short lived. But out of it one its members organized the Wage Earners Theatre with amateur player who thrived on for some time but had no far reaching effect.

The same year a company of Russian players arrived headed by a very great Russian artist Paul Orlov and his leading lady Mme Alla Nazimova. Give history of their purpose and acting.

Proving to prove  
myself by nature dramatic  
Washington 110 may be 4000000

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22875

2

There is a realization that it was not only  
lack of interest on the part of the public for real-  
ism in the theatre, or lack of plays, but main the lack  
of real acting, or still better living on the stage  
as only the Russian are capable of doing. Especially...  
the real acting. The Little Theatre on the East side  
became a place of pilgrimage for the acting profession  
there they learned that interpretative art should  
be.

However the Little Theatre idea ~~xxxxxx~~  
remained in the air. Then in 1911, three Little  
Theatres began operating continuously. The Little  
Theatre of Winthrop and the result of the  
abortive venture of the New Theatre started in 1909  
with lack of financial backing and which failed be-  
cause of its size and ugliness, the Little Theatre  
by Maurice Brown in the Fine Arts Theatre in Chicago.  
and the Toy Theatre by Mrs Lyman Gale in Boston.  
The Albee Theatre was commercialized in a very short  
time, making it impossible for the inte;;

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22876

3

Chicago

intelligent people while the Theatre in New York and Boston were equally and were equally exclusive

It was ~~really~~ not until 1915 when the real

beginning of the Little and Repertory Theatres had their inception. Two ventures quite apart and distinct

from each other and their birth in Feb. 1915. The

Elm Street Theatre in Provincetown started by

a group of writers, dramatists, painters and amateur

actors and the Redbox Theatre which opened the 19th

of Feb of 1915 in a theatre in New City

on 57th street.

Provincetown

I have before me the prospectus of the

Playwright Theatre which in 1917 opened its doors in

MacDougl Street a very congested part of New York

inhabited largely by Italians, the Playhouse began

in an old barn and renovated for the use of a theatre

Here it is.

Provincetown Theatre  
most pioneering in bringing  
out new dramatics

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4

22877

*moving spirit*

*150 plays & time  
mostly nature*

The ~~movigad~~ *spirited* during the first six years have been ~~Sun~~ *Gaspell* and George Cress Cook though without O'Neil the Playwrights Theatre could have achieved nothing like its great artistic success. Since the death of Cook the hardest ~~work~~ *work* and truest inspiration has been Miss Elenore Fitzgerald the manager of the Playhouse. Again it must be said that she would not have succeeded if she had not the cooperation of the ~~pleasure~~ *Admiral* of writers, ~~of~~ *Edmund Ballantine*, ~~and~~ *Robert Edward Jones* Lee St. ~~and~~ *and* O'Neil and Gaspell.

The ~~theatre~~ *theatre* ~~and~~ *and* then reorganized into ~~the~~ *the* ~~theatre~~ *theatre* with daily perfor-  
mances ~~and~~ *and* branching out into  
the ~~theatre~~ *theatre* ~~and~~ *and* Theatre Guild with its own magnificent Theatre.  
But it can be said that the Theatre Guild  
had little to do with bringing forth  
the ~~theatre~~ *theatre* ~~and~~ *and* the organization of Little  
Theatre, ~~and~~ *and* Theatre Guild has a high

*as De Laurence tower Playhouse*

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th

22878

artistic standard in its production. It would take two  
much time to give even a superficial list of all  
the plays exhibitedly produced by the Washington Square  
Players of the Theatre Guild.

*110 plays  
mostly European*

*Completed by Museum  
Collection*

The Neighborhood Playhouse like the one  
in the Hall House was begun in a Settlement, its  
first performances being given in an ordinary Hall  
with no equipment worth of mention. Its main sponsors  
were two sisters the Lewisohn girls as they are fondly  
called. From that the Neighborhood Playhouse  
which is really a sociologic experiment developed  
into its own theatre and is maintain by a small  
charge for admission as well as subscription.  
The late William Archer called the Neighborhoods  
Theatre "the most delightful of the New York  
sideshows. While Mrs Minnie Maddern Fiske who  
for years carried on an almost singlehanded fight  
against our Theatre Trusts, speaks of the venture

One of the most stimulating playhouses I know where

*great taste, perfect magic, real  
dramatic, where to stay*

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6

22879

Since 1915  
Little Theatres  
spread like  
lightning until  
now there are  
over 600 with  
NY City alone  
having 96  
Chicago 19, San  
Francisco 12  
and every state  
on the Union  
having numerous  
Little Theatres



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22880

Little Theatre in  
Dallas Texas,  
Des Moines Iowa  
have organized  
a system of  
exchange of  
productions with  
other Little Theatres  
in the country  
so that those who  
begin as amateurs  
in their own  
state must now  
stray every  
effort to become

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Ms. 9/ 22881  
Little Theatre  
all these rest  
entirely on wide  
spread sales  
caption

## 880206027

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See also Page 200 of Harvard, Prof E. C. Mable at  
 100 City Street, Boston, Mass. given Shaw, O'Neill

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[The Little Theater Movement] / Emma Goldman. — (fragment). — 18 p. ; 23 x 19 cm.

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22883

and many other American and European plays the people in that desert State had ever heard off. Also exchange plays and plays. University now in progress of building a Harrison Laboratory theatre.

*Oscar*  
In a Story Teller's Story by Anderson

rel to the life in a midwestern town. his terrible hunger of the artistic impulse and the case between him and the lack of understanding in the community. And many other young men and women in America have felt the same. But that the Little Theater Movement with modern drama ventures in every State and many towns there is an outlet for just such artistic phase as Anderson had. Thus the Little Theatre in Dallas Texas has originated a scheme of exchange production with other Little Theatres.

Prof. Kochs Group of the Little Theatre in North Carolina. They too write plays about the life of the people in their part of the country and take them across to the entire State. The travel to tiny hamlets, they play in rud crude halls and their object is to make their

*see many other young men in the country in the U.S.*

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22884

11  
Prof. Fredrick H. Koch,  
as head of the Dramatic  
Dept. of the University  
of Carolina has  
founded a group  
of playwrights, actors,  
and actresses, called  
the Playmakers.

Over 6 years 36  
plays, mostly native  
which were carried  
to the remotest corner  
of the state.

In 1924 played before  
25,000 people  
on 26 turns  
many coming in

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12

22885

have a 'storm' at  
the mountains to  
see the performance  
in Raleigh 3 ago  
teachers of the  
annual Educational  
meeting came  
to the production

In Pittsburgh, the  
Carnegie Institute  
of Technology, in  
charge of Physical  
Thomas Wood Stearns  
has now a well  
equipped Theatre

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13

22886

and a cast of no  
small merit, giving  
the city the best  
nature or foreign  
talents.

Deane is the  
Yale University  
with Prof. Phelps  
or Naaleg. Phelps  
has done much  
in supervising  
first class trans-  
lations from the  
Russian  
Prof. Dickinson  
or Zuna Gate

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day at the City  
conducted 7 1/2 go  
partice parts  
he was played  
to open an half  
million  
all these efforts  
are helping to  
create a taste  
for several theatres  
or for good drama

22887



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14 15 22886  
Percy the Raye  
the effort for  
civic theater  
he is the man  
in that line  
he is apt at his  
Catherine Mary  
enlisted the  
people on the way  
the "Sanctuary"  
music was played  
before 200  
people  
Saint Louis  
pageant to the  
hundredth

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22889

Standard of dramatic  
art in Provincetown  
Playhouse, Beatrice  
Smith, Neigama  
Bard, Playhouse  
the Little Theater  
Movement  
country since  
the summer  
Beatrice to give  
her a play,  
holding a  
a decent scenery

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[The Little Theater Movement] / Emma Goldman. — (fragment). —  
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The Little Theatre 22890  
movement awakened  
new talents, playwrights,  
scenic, artists, producers,  
directors in  
acting which  
has never before  
existed in the  
now exists in  
Europe only in  
very few places  
conclusion

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14 22891  
in the Caucasus in  
Smith College,  
The University  
of Calif as many  
others who were  
doing creditable  
work as Eastern  
native as foreign  
plays as in  
educating the  
theatre giving help  
to appreciate  
good drama



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Art Exists to Present a New Vision of Life] / Emma Goldman. — [1929?]. — 71 p. ; 27 × 18 cm.

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37°

*Emma Goldman*

*He goes*

Art is not art unless it is made out of an artist's genuine feeling and

vision, not out of what he has been told he ought to feel and see. For

art exists not to confirm people in their tastes and prejudices, not to

show them what they have seen before, but to present them with a new vis-

ion of life. And if drama be an art (which the great public denies

daily, but a few of us still believe), it must reasonably be expected to

present life as each dramatist sees it, and not to express things

because they pander to popular prejudice, or are sensational, or because

they pay.

*If that be true of art  
and which is not only  
to amuse, but all  
but must be repa-  
ritatory. For the  
every suggests*

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37'

2

at a "new vision of  
life" meets with the  
most rigid opposition  
on the part of all  
those who are  
rivetted to the  
~~old~~ ~~present~~ ~~day~~ who  
dread nothing so  
much as change  
and innovation  
whether it be in  
a change of ~~art~~  
in art or social

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2 3  
end ethical institute  
So it is not only  
the relation of art  
to a new revolution  
expression of art  
an mind  
I speak of art  
and revolution  
I have in mind  
the necessary struggle  
all creative artists  
have to make in  
order to assert

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373

34  
themselves, a struggle  
with poverty, with  
stupidity, indifference  
and, make no mistake  
but even ~~with~~  
the struggle against  
the academic can  
ception of art  
which has always  
been so is to  
day the acutest  
struggling idea



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5

374

to the free and untrammelled  
expression of art  
In this sense all  
great artists from  
time ~~our~~ immemorial  
were revolutionary  
From Michael Angelo  
~~Da~~ da Vinci to  
Rodin, Eoguin,  
~~Caravaggio~~, Seizanne,  
How Handel, Handel  
Munroe & Miller  
to the present time

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6 375  
• From Shelley, Byron, Keats,  
Blake, Walt Whitman,  
Keats, & other poetic  
sands to our present  
day. From Hawthorne,  
Wagner, & Hazlitt  
Shelley, & Keats  
to the struggling compass  
of our own time,  
all, all were revolutionaries  
in form & content  
of their works and  
many of them in close  
relationship to the social  
revolutionary spirit of  
their time

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376

In fact the history  
of all art is in itself  
an epic of revolt!

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# 8 4 1/2 377  
in the way of art  
of course those  
who cling to the  
idea of art  
but save <sup>some</sup> ~~and~~  
no struggle to make  
Bein art never  
had its seat  
in life — in the  
ever changing  
panorama of  
life of the human.



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said

3. 9. 4

370

~~struggle~~. He dreams  
of aspirations of  
all those who strive  
for a new vision  
of life. These  
pseudo artists could  
never understand  
what when  
he said that "all  
art is an art  
of life" he  
meant the vision  
of the creative artist

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379  
- 4 10  
received through  
the vision of the  
creative artist,  
my induced myth  
as passionate soul  
of broken shaped  
by his <sup>into living form</sup> ~~general~~ into  
living form. "by air genius  
of mind" Zola was  
the living embodiment  
of ~~the~~ vision of the  
nature and glorification  
of art

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16 10

380

*and he rebelled against the conventional  
of his time*  
Zola exposed with a frankness bordering on brutality the rottenness of

the wealthy and privileged classes, the oppressions and cruelty of

capital, the selfishness and hypocrisy of ministers, magistrates, army

officers, and priests; pictured with a friendliness, bordering on

advocacy, the sufferings and struggles of the laborers, and stated with

perfect fairness the most revolutionary ideas and ideals. That he had in

world. The evils of contemporary society ~~are~~ <sup>were</sup> so gigantic, in his view, and

the necessity for a change of some sort so imperative, that he could under-

stand and condone any and every honest protest, no matter how imprudent and

*and his that would lead*

*to some change from the  
intolerable injustice in  
the world. all his work*

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B II

the revolutionary —  
~~epics~~ especially the  
 trilogy Germinal  
Paris & Salamm

~~against him in the Dreyfus affair.~~ Nevertheless, ~~no~~ novelist of his time —  
 at least none in France — has portrayed so masterfully, so sympathetically,  
 one might almost say so devoutly, the character of the extreme, the martyr  
 type of anarchist, the propagandiste par le fait.

Zola is said to have boasted of the progress anarchistic violence made  
 after he "launched his Souvarine into the world." The charge is probably a  
 libel. But from this cold, calculating, consecrated Souvarine of Germinal  
 [M] sacred  
 to the generous, sentimental Salvat of Paris the sincere propagandiste par

le fait was explained, excused, admired, extolled by him.

~~He wrote his works~~ Emil Zola  
and Salamm, maybe taken  
 as his confession of



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12 302  
of Gold in a new  
vision of life  
But Gold's  
revolutionary feelings  
were expressed  
not only in  
art. They fairly leaped  
it <sup>and</sup> the man in  
contact with  
his I'acase in  
Dreyfus' behalf and  
the cause of <sup>the</sup> <sup>man</sup>  
a manner which

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303

He so suddenly defended  
proved that his  
deep devotion to  
every just cause  
that struggled for  
expression.

But Gen. Zolay  
was only one of the  
large army of creative  
spirits whose inner  
or outer tumult  
impelled them to  
rebel against ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup>  
to break through

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384

14

every barrier in the  
way, every convention  
that would paralyze  
the <sup>spirit</sup> ~~the~~ ~~man~~ ~~man~~ — the  
dead, and of the  
past that would  
choke the life out  
of the living, ~~our~~ ~~our~~  
madest, ~~discern~~  
given life and  
beauty by ~~you~~ ~~us~~  
must be ~~lyre~~

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10/19 395  
no art student, I  
do not care <sup>in</sup> how  
many academies  
he may have studied  
will ever realize  
the true meaning  
of art unless he  
makes a study  
of the lives of the  
artists, their tragedy,  
their defeat, and  
triumph.



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16

386

~~In my~~ I am concerned  
in the art which was  
born out of revolution  
and that which had  
direct contact with  
great revolutionary  
events

Out of the French  
Revolution grew  
the master pieces  
the ~~work~~ <sup>a</sup> work as  
the ~~work~~ <sup>the</sup> revolution  
by David and

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14 307  
The Marseillaise by  
de Gueule Adark  
which inspired  
the march on  
the Bastille and  
started the masses  
to keep revolution  
to a clean.

At the same time  
almost Shelley  
wailed his dynamic  
songs into at  
the smug complacency

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18 300  
of his countryman  
He called up  
his poem "Man  
of England" ~~was~~<sup>is</sup>  
a burning charge  
to be oppressed  
his "Anarchy" a  
spokesman for the  
future. and all  
the other songs of  
Shelley defiance  
a rebellion against  
the respectability

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19 309  
and by a cry. We  
all know the price  
Shelley had to pay  
for speaking  
from behind a  
puss at his address  
the cruel venom  
that was poured  
over the sweet singer  
at love & life and  
freedom.

The judges and  
tormentors of Shelley  
are forgotten but



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20 390  
Her art and his  
every spirit will  
be forever —  
like a meteor  
illuminate the  
path of all poets  
to come

On Bryan still  
is misunderstood  
or even hated in  
his country. Was  
he not the man  
who in war  
decided his

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391

22

justice society managed  
to indignation by the  
appalling conditions  
at the workhouses in  
his native land.  
His passionate  
love of freedom  
going, and generous  
to the cause of Greek  
the mother of all  
great art

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23 392  
neither in England  
on the rest of the  
world were Shelley  
and Byron the only  
poets whose works  
were impelled by  
the spirit of revolt.  
Their names are  
legions. Their lives  
a fierce battle  
for humanity. Their  
works as Shillings  
were a claydole

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24

393

tyrants of our time  
and called to rebellion  
against them. Wildly  
tell us lies as all  
revolutionary  
fracts really. On  
the whole of  
at Schiller's period  
as appear  
with poverty and  
want was one  
long martyrdom  
for this an ideal



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25

394

And Heine's ~~is~~ letter  
on the case, ~~the~~ after  
the <sup>eat</sup> a cold ~~into~~  
He - He craves death  
of his countrymen  
and. and ~~the~~ the  
mask ~~of~~ from  
the lying ~~the~~ ce  
of morality and  
conventional ~~the~~  
His Heine's ~~the~~

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26

395

in moulding the new  
revolutionary awareness  
of our time is, surely,  
now coming to be  
appreciated.

~~Of Walt Whitman~~  
~~I met him Dec~~  
~~1st, to night I~~  
~~met him to paint~~  
~~all that Whitman~~  
~~revealed a new~~  
~~not only poetry but~~  
~~the entire approach~~  
~~to life. Whitman was~~  
~~the liberator as the human body~~  
~~as well as his soul~~

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26

356

When we turn to  
the human leaders  
of letters we find  
the same close link  
between art and  
revolution.

Dickens, Swift,  
Victor Hugo, George  
Elliot, Emerson  
Doreau, Kahlil Gibran  
Hervy and the Russian  
writers from Gogol

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24

397

At our own period  
Alexander Blok, Kipling, in an epic  
The great German  
I can classify, the  
arch rebel Nietzsche  
Anatol France,  
Maurice, These  
Streindberg, Hauptmann  
as I call as all  
all of them have  
been revolutionists  
in their art because  
they expressed a new



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28

390

vision of life and  
they were artists  
in their revolution  
appeal to the world  
the need of realizing  
their vision

most of you know  
the words of these  
rebel poets but you  
may not know the  
powerful arrangements  
at the time - the public  
at the affairs and the  
business in business

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Anatole France is the gentlest and subtlest ironist of his time; 399

Octave Mirbeau (to whom M. France's Jerome Coignard was dedicated) is the

fiercest. M. Mirbeau has not yet obtained the world renown of Zola nor

the national renown of M. France, but he may become in time as famous as

either. He surpasses every living French writer in portraying the mons-

trous, the atrocious, and the horrible, and in expressing hatred and

disgust; and his irony - too often fulminated, in violation of the common-

est courtesy, not to say decency, against individuals antipathetic to him -

rips and blasts like the thunderbolt. It is doubtful if the world has

seen anything comparable to him for vitriolic vindictiveness since

England had Dean Swift. He is bitter, brutal, savage, terrifying to the

last degree; "one of those combative natures," says Eugene Montfort,

"who are dreaded because their conviction partakes of the nature of an

animate being, . . . breathes, feeds, grows, is endowed with the instinct

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30

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400

of self-preservation and struggles for life."

His Calvaire, as he himself puts it, "strips war of all its heroism."

His Journal d'une Femme de Chambre is the most complete and awful arraignment

ment of society it is possible to imagine between the covers of a single

volume. Merciless towards the hypocrisy and hollowness of the hour,

towards meanness and pretentiousness, towards impotent and misdirected

philanthropy, above all towards the stupidity and ugliness of the smug

bourgeois, whom he fairly flays alive as Apollo ~~flayed Marsyas~~. Mirbeau

is, on the other hand, - and here his resemblance to Swift ceases, - infinitely

humane and uplifting, full of tenderness and chivalry for the out-

cast and unfortunate, for the goodness which would diffuse happiness

everywhere; full of generous ardor, high aspiration, and unfaltering

faith in the ultimate triumph of the just.

Was  
ever anything made  
revolutionary given  
by the most ardent  
hater of all institutions  
yet Mirbeau was  
a great artist thereby  
showing the relation between art  
and revolution

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31

401

In plastic arts  
nearly every master  
was made to walk  
the path to Calvary,  
endured humiliations  
and indignities, suffered  
a thousand deaths,  
for new vision  
of life. It would  
take us, too, to  
achieve to go into  
the hotter life of da  
Vinci, or Michel



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32

402

Angela. You could  
read Hegel, Nietzsche,  
You will learn many  
from them about  
the intrinsic meaning  
a purpose of art  
than on your  
schools.

But I do want  
to talk about those  
masters who are  
of our own time

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38

403

in modern times  
Kadin has instance  
who was repudiated  
by the academy, and  
and ridiculed  
by the critics. But  
because he went  
to the people, for  
his inspiration.  
Because he attacked  
the money, the  
darkness the

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3X4

404

The struggles of art  
for art sake, art  
that beauty could  
not understand  
the mastery of  
Radin who gave  
form to the ravages  
of old age, the  
gauntress, the  
the intensity and  
abandon of Raup  
Raphael was of the  
world, an unbroken

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34 35

405

and Radins can  
temporary - the  
Danish sculptor  
Constantin Meunier  
What is his relation  
to revolution?



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1 36

406

Constantin Meunier  
Lamprosculptor

The works of Constantin  
Meunier combine  
great art & deep social  
consciousness. I shuddered  
at the people and garden  
sculpture, the paralyzing  
effect of power by  
Meunier became  
repeated his art  
with his love for  
the workers with  
his burning indignation

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37 2 407  
against ~~Heur~~ masters

photographic reproduction. His puddlers, foundrymen, dockhands, mine girls and so forth contain the living rhythm, the true spirit of labor. The oneness of the worker with his work, the unity of the producer with his task, finds in Meunier the most striking expression. Meunier is not less great a symbolist than a realist. His "Mower" does not convey the feeling of a man merely wielding his tool; mower and scythe appeal to one's artistic sense as a plastic unity.

Splendid is the "Sower", in whose earnest expression and free man there is visualized something of the conquest of the future. This figure crowns the powerful Monument to Labor that in 1909--four years after Meunier's death--was erected in Lovain, where the master had lived and worked. Four friezes comprise the four sides of the Monument to Labor--Industry, The Harvest, The Port, The Mine. In the foreground on the broad steps is the striking figure of "Maternity", modeled after Zola's "Fecundity".

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38

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"A hymn to labor," Mr. Brinton, the art critic, calls the ~~works~~ <sup>work</sup> of Meunier, in the biographic sketch contained in the catalogue issued by the exhibitors. It is more; <sup>It</sup> is also the Appeal of Labor that bridges oceans, brings distant lands close to each other, wrests coal and metals from the bowels of the earth, digs and tills the soil,—how it is symbolized in its figures! Looking at the Industrial Cyclops of Meunier in their strength, their drab existence, their silent suffering and mute appeal, and with the heaviness of their thoughts staring out of their eyes, one feels as though he beheld a giant, borne down by <sup>a night mare</sup> ~~an Alp-like weight and~~

-3-

<sup>get gulliver</sup> stretching at his chains. When the giant rises and breaks his fetters, can his torturers who have tied him to the stake, as the pigmies had roped Gulliver, expect that even a single one of their institutions of social injustice will be permitted to survive?

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\$ 39 -

409

Meunier saw the strength and ... beauty of labor,  
but he saw also its blackness, despair, and fetters; and great  
humanist that he was, he yearned to see labor freed from its  
bondage, and he tried to

inspire them with  
revolutionary zeal  
to bring a consciousness  
of their own dignity  
which would enable  
them to break their  
shackles.



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410  
36 40  
The foremost  
of today's day  
is the cafe of protest  
a pupil of Radium  
Though he, can not  
be rightfully classed  
as a social reval  
utionary he is yet  
very much of a  
revolutionist in  
his art. For twenty  
five years his

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34 41 411  
warms and creed  
against British  
middle class values  
His Hudson memorial  
came nearly caused  
great. His monument  
to Cps can Wilde  
is by far more  
expressive of Wilde  
than most things  
written about him  
There is, a sweep  
and a strength

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38 72 412  
and have all a sense  
of freedom from  
all conventionalities  
all sham. That  
is why Egyptian  
"clerk" let the  
"cognate" by those  
who pass as ladies  
be, can't see  
at all merely because  
they have the money  
to pay for it  
Christian map

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Painting 3/5 3/4 4/3 413  
I have already  
referred to the <sup>same</sup> painters  
who in recent time  
were revolutionaries  
in their art. and  
on their lives.  
I now want to  
bring to your  
~~consideration~~<sup>attention</sup>  
a few who were  
and are revolutionaries  
in the social



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34 40 44 414  
sense. I have already  
mentioned the  
stunning work of  
Daved. A little  
later came  
Monroe Sumner  
who was considered  
the Michael Angelo  
of <sup>among</sup> caricaturists.  
His drawings  
of the Court and  
period of Louis  
Philippe, of the really

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3/25 4/5  
415  
injustices and bypa  
cious that flaunted  
everywhere under  
the disguise of  
Gower's Shelley's  
liberalism did  
more to prepare  
the revolutionary  
of 1830 than  
any amount of  
revolutionary  
tracts could have  
achieved. Dan

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42 46 416  
~~was~~ Dampier, was  
sounded by the French  
men of Louis Philippe  
a finally thrown  
into prison. But  
Dampier has a way  
of evening sex reds  
Louis Philippe is  
suffering. Dampier  
must be pieces like  
they live so widely  
(more drawings have  
just sold for 3, 500, 000  
francs)

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45 49 417  
They are as true  
as our own speech  
as they were, at  
the so called liberal  
~~Clayton Phillips~~  
of our army, judges,  
judges, lawyers,  
and priests as  
they were a hundred  
years ago

210



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38 48 48 418  
Less than  
Only three years  
later another painter  
Cavalier takes his  
place with the  
Commanders, and  
he has a codes of  
Paris to defend the  
Paris Commune  
and to demonstrate  
by his zeal the relation  
between art and

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34 45 48 49  
Revolution

Now must we forget  
that the peasant  
has risen to the  
greatest painter  
of his time. Who  
but he knew so  
well the burden  
of the man of the  
soil. The endless  
dredging—

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420  
Edward Carpenter  
in Angels Wings  
Pays his beautiful  
tribute to the woman  
of Mallet

That girl, half-muffled in an old cloak, standing with her

immense boots clogged to earth on the clayey edge of a pond, trying

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44 51 421

with slackened rope held at arm's length to coax her cow to  
drink---can you not see, ten thousand times repeated, her dull  
lethargic home life, the silent overworked half-brutish father  
and brothers, the dim gleams of thought awaking in her, to so  
little response from anyone? That woman knitting by lamplight,  
pausing for a moment to count the stitches---her babe slumbering  
in the cradle beside her--how old as the hills is the subject,  
and common as grass, and yet how poignantly tender!

In such pictures as the "Sheep Girl" (La Bergere) with  
its endless distance over the plains, and loneliness, save for  
the crowds of sheep cropping, or the "Going to Work" (a farm  
lad and lass striding forth side by side in their sabots) he  
obtains by his absolute fidelity to fact those searching and  
irresistible effects which can only be given by Nature herself,  
and the Art which lies, so to speak, in her bosom; and in such  
works as the weird, gaunt, ungainly "Man with the Hoe," the  
"killers," or the "Vinedresser Resting," it really seems as

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42 426 52 422

if he had deliberately chosen the most unlikely of figures and  
compelled one to love them, the harshest discords of life and  
made them fall into harmony. Two men, rude and dirty, carrying  
a calf on a hurdle from the fields, and yet the overpowering  
impression conveyed is the tenderness of their feeling for the  
new-born thing!

How could Millet  
give colour to the  
feeling of the new-  
born thing, if he had  
not felt deeply the  
struggle and work of the  
peasantry of humanity  
at large. His manner is not  
revolutionary



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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43 44 50 ~~51~~ 423  
At the present time we  
are a cove of artists  
who articulate and  
misulize our social  
conditions, and  
give life to the  
dreams we have  
the our spirit  
in revolt. I am  
the most modest  
woman Kate  
Kallwitz in Germany

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40 54 424  
in the very embodiment  
of revolt. Her studies  
of Gerhart Hauptmann  
manus Weavers  
are wonderfully  
in their sense of  
feeling of the  
dumb slaves suddenly  
awakened to the  
revolt. There are  
so many in the world  
to day whose art

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52

425

And there are many  
artists to day who  
perhaps not so  
great as those  
of the past yet  
have the sincerity  
& sympathy for  
the pressing question  
of our time  
was by their work  
a new ~~or~~ ~~many~~  
voice the spirit of  
new vision of life

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muscle 56 426  
And muscle. 2  
Be not the class  
bond between that  
out of guts and  
revolution? 24  
you have any doubts  
the two giants in  
muscle, Rockefeller  
and Wagners. 24  
desperately ~~completely~~ ~~completely~~ ~~completely~~  
for even them

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428 54 94 427  
Bach were revolutionary  
in music & life

Wagner in his auto  
biography relates  
an episode that  
happened when he  
was conducting  
the IX symphony  
in Dresden, which  
shows the effect of  
Beethoven's great work  
on a great revolutionist as  
Michael Bakunin



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44

58

428

As manager at the Dresden court theatre, Wagner conducts the Ninth Symphony of Beethoven. After the performance the following incident takes place: "Michael Bakunin, unknown to the police, had been present at the rehearsal. At its close he walked unhesitatingly up to me in the orchestra, and said in a loud voice, that if all the music had ever been written were lost in the expected world-wide conflagration, we must pledge ourselves to rescue this symphony even at the peril of our lives."

now syndicated  
that the gloriously petted  
of Revolutionary Michael  
Bakunin should

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~~45~~ 16 56 429  
have sensed the  
revolutionary future  
of Beethoven who  
held on his music  
of his life refused  
to have a compromise  
with men who  
met Goethe and  
met by the Kings  
of all courts refused  
to make any  
saying Beethoven  
a greater man

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4/5 57 60 430  
He says, he is sovereign  
of the greatest Kingdom  
Music

Edward Carpenter writes  
Beethoven and his earlier piano Sonatas.

Unlike the musicians who went before him he could brook no dependence upon  
condescending nobilities. He was not going to be a Court Fool. The man who  
could rush into the courtyard of his really sincere friend and "patron" Prince  
Lobkowitz and shout "Lobkowitz donkey, Lobkowitz donkey," for all the valets  
and chambermaids to hear; or who could leave his humble lodgings because  
the over-polite landlord of the house would insist on doffing his hat each  
time they passed up the stairs; most have had something of "the devil in  
him".

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431  
~~46~~ 54 61  
Politically Berkman  
evolved into radicalism  
as his creed and  
though nominally  
a Catholic he may  
had no use for  
formality as super-  
stition. But  
more than all else  
the revelation of Berkman  
and to revolution

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44 54 62 432  
is best expressed  
by Wayne; Re writes

Page 126

This was the word which Beethoven set as crown upon the forehead of his tone-creation; and this word was--"Freude!" (Joy) (Rejoice) With this word he cries to men; "Breast to breast, ye mortal millions! This one kiss to all the world!" --And this Word will be the language of the Art-work of the Future.--

This Last Symphony of Beethoven is the redemption of Music from out her own peculiar element into the realm of universal Art. It is the human Evangel of the art of the Future. Beyond it no forward step is possible; for upon it the perfect Art-work of the Future alone can follow, the universal Drama to which Beethoven has forged for us the key.



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4/25 68 63 433  
As to Wagner himself  
He has left his work  
not only in his  
musical but on his  
works on art  
a Revolution, and  
the art of the future  
Whatever his sub  
sequent changes  
may have been  
his return to the  
Church in Basel

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408 64 64 434  
after an ultra revolutionary  
time poems, the Melancholy  
his passionate plea  
that we have for  
the stars and  
solda, all ways  
return to the land  
of respectability  
of the compromise  
with this may all  
be contacts, nothing  
will eradicate

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435  
X 50 62 65  
I am writing this  
separation in the  
Dresden uprising  
in 1848, and a great  
presence of fighting  
in the hands of  
~~the~~ or in peace  
sang in this place  
work and put  
a Revolution  
But let the Wayne  
still young and  
will spread the

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himself 60 62

436

Almost universal is the outcry raised by artists nowadays against the damage that the Revolution has occasioned them. It is not the battles of the "barriades," not the sudden mighty shattering of the pillars of the State, not the hasty change of Governments,—that is bewailed; for the impression left behind by such capital events as these, is for the most part disproportionately fleeting, and short-lived in its violence. But it is the protracted character of the latest convulsions, that is so mortally affecting the artistic effort of the day. The hitherto—

What has revolted the architect, when he must shatter his creative force on bespoken plans for barracks and lodging-houses? What has aggrieved the painter, when he must immortalise the repugnant visage of a millionaire? What the musician, when he must compose his music for the banquet-table? And what the poet, when he must write romances for the lending-library? What then has been the sting of suffering to each? That he must squander his creative powers for gain, and make his art a handicraft!-- And finally, what suffering has the dramatist to bear, who would fain assemble every art within Art's master-work, the Drama? The suffering of all other artists combined in one!

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42 63 64  
His state of affairs <sup>437</sup>  
was almost enough  
for Wagner to justify  
revolution. But there  
was also another  
factor expressed  
in these lines

"Our modern factories afford us the sad picture of the deepest  
degradation of man---constant labor killing both body and soul,  
without joy or love, often almost without aim"; or in his  
scorn of "Folding Improvers, who would trickle drops of Music's  
honey upon the acid sweat of ill-used factory hands, as the only  
possible alleviation of their sufferings."



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GH CB 430  
Now could Wayne  
help being a revolutionist with  
our exalted idea  
that "true art is  
highest freedom,  
and only the highest  
freedom, can give  
birth to art itself.  
No commandment,  
no ordinance, no  
direction, no should  
no aim as art

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64 69 439  
from any car  
call out to these  
In conclusion  
then I repeat with  
Galsworthy they  
may be at  
is to bring a  
new vision of  
life. Revelation  
is the element which  
imprisons life

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66 40 440  
with new aims,  
new values new  
visions hence  
the close relation  
between art and  
Revolution.



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## WALT WHITMAN

The poet of Leaves of Grass is a true son of American soil and yet very unamerican. So long as he sings the song of the wonders of nature, the beauties of the unlimited resources, old Walt feels part and partial of the strength of Mother Earth, but our great poet becomes unamerican when arraigns the Puritanic inference which has paralysed life to such an extent as to make it barren. In fact Walt Whitman may be called the iconoclast of Puritanism. No other writer or poet in America has so thoroughly exposed the hideous elmy god as he. Just hear these wonderful words from "Specimen Days". "Sweet ~~1893~~ <sup>1893</sup> still-nakedness in nature, Ah! if poor sick prudent humanity in cities might really know you once more! Is not nakedness then indecent? No, not inherently. It is your thought, your fear, your respectability that is indecent."

Our poet is also unamerican because he was so free from the deadening tendency of commercialism. His brother, George W. Whitman, tells us that Walt "was a man who had chances to make money, but he would never make any concession for money. He refused to do anything except at his own notion." His mission then was not to acquire possession but to carry the message of liberty and beauty to the people everywhere.

The education of Walt Whitman was that of most children of the people, he never saw the inside of a college or university which was fortunate because it helped him to ~~retain~~ <sup>retain</sup> originality and independence of thought. He was a prolific reader however, and in his "loafing" he learned more of people, conditions and nature than most men who received the so called highest educa-

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ation. Walt was jack of many trades, school teacher, composer, editor (he edited the Brooklyn <sup>from 1874</sup> ~~from 1874~~ to 78) carpenter, builder and clerk in the various departments in Washington, and last but not least, nurse, correspondent and advisor to the sick soldiers during the civil war.

He travelled all through the west and south supporting himself as a free lance for various newspapers. When the war broke out he enlisted voluntarily as nurse for which he was eminently fitted because of his great humanity and his deep kinship for all suffering and sorrow. In 1870 at the age of 51 Walt Whitman had a stroke which paralyzed him physically but not mentally. He remained young, alert and full of the spirit of life to the end of his days.

When Leaves of Grass was published ~~it~~ it fell into the hands of one of Whitman's superiors in the department. He promptly declared the work immoral which <sup>cost</sup> ~~taught~~ Walt his posit on. The Society for the Suppression of Vice with Anthony Comstock as its patron saint had that time begun its evil operations. For the shame of the American spirit be it said, <sup>that</sup> that Society is still on the job, even though the Saintly Anthony is now keeping company with his Heavenly Father. What greater chance for notoriety than the suppression of the great work of a great poet. Comstock went after the publisher, ~~Good~~ <sup>Lea</sup> and Company. The District Attorney took Leaves of Grass under consideration. He marked the objectional parts and sent word to Whitman that he would allow it to go through the mail if these parts ~~will~~ be expurgated.

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Of course Walt would have none of such impudence. As a result the volume was withdrawn from circulation. Later however, the ban was lifted, that it ever should have <sup>been</sup> censored proves the stupidity of puritanism, or as Whitman said "The never ending audacity of elected persons."

His experience with both the Society for the Prevention of Vice and the government, had one good effect, it helped to advertise the book and the author widely. Old Walt lived to see himself proclaimed as the greatest poet of his time, not only in his own country, but nearly everywhere in Europe. In England J. Addington Symonds and Edward Carpenter fell under the sway of the powerful originality of Whitman. In Germany it was the poet Freiligrath, a rebel to the very tips of his fingers, who rendered such a marvelous translation of *Leaves of Grass* that even the best critics, proclaimed it as great as the original. And of course France and Russia became enthused with the vigor, the beauty, of the clarion voice of Walt.

Much in the poetry of Whitman easily proves him to be the most universal, cosmopolitan, and human of the American writers. He is considered the glorifier of democracy, but it will take long, or still better it will never happen, that what is commonly called democracy, will even remotely represent the spirit of Walt Whitman.

In a material sense Walt Whitman's life represented an endless struggle, great hardships and economic violence.

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values. But that was the least of his concern. He was too deeply engrossed in his inner wealth to notice his outer poverty. He was too busily engaged in his creative work to have inclination or time for material achievements. "Leaves of Grass", "Drum Taps", "Passage to India", "Democratic vistas", "Memoranda during the War", "Specimen Days", "Autobiography or the story of a Life" are the children of Walt Whitman's brain and heart. What matter all else to him?

One of the most worm-eaten fruits of Puritanism which ~~the Puritan~~ degrades life is the notion that public men and women who have a message for humanity must measure up to the yardstick of morality. Like sinners they are tied to the block of public stupidity and are expected to defend their position and justify their acts. In other words, they are expected to become public property, to have every emotion and thought washed over by the keepers of public morals.

Walt Whitman had much to suffer from these Puritanic detectives and snoopers. Because "Leaves of Grass" sings the beauty and wholesomeness of sex of the human body freed from the rags and tatters of hypocrisy, the literary critics and editors, the professors, Unions and Bunts demanded to know if the author is not really a dangerous immoral character. In Camden, N. J. the Purists warned the mother of Horace Traubel who has since become the biographer of Whitman against the association of her son with the old "Scribbler".— the man who so brazenly sang the glory of the "Children of Adam".

Many friends of Whitman go out of their way to prove

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that he was not immoral and had no hidden vices, that he was pure and innocent, a big child. I will grant that they told only the truth, but one should not throw pearls of truth before the swine of Puritanic falsehood. They know not what to do with it except to drag it into their mire.

The innermost experience of the human heart are the most sacredly private affairs, and no one should concede to the mob - be it even the literary mob - the right to opportunity to pry into them. If these Torquemados must engage in the job of inquisition, let them find their victims, but one should never play into their hands and thus become their accomplices.

It was the vigorous ~~poetic~~ personality of Walt Whitman, his boundless refreshing enthusiasm which broke the age long barriers of conventionality and sham ~~and~~ which created so much consternation among the respectable, hence their cry "Shameless" Unheard of" Walt was interested in the whole of man, not merely in the bloodless wreckage of Christian and Puritanic training, he sings his human song, the song of the earth, of flesh and blood, of the senses, and ~~the~~ not the cold song of the living corpse who reflect the graveyard in the home, the discipline in the school, the out-  
tailment of law.

Walt liberates the whole of man and brings him into harmonious blending with nature, in Oneness with the liberating factors of life. Walt refuses to chop man up in a mortal

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unclean body, and the pure immortal soul? He repudiates the line of demarcation between good and evil virtue and vice. He takes man as he is and brings him exultantly close to the Universe.

Just as man appears to the great old Walt, so does he appear in anarchism, all equally related to life, all interwoven with society, yet each unto himself a personality. When artificial barriers are no more, and man is no longer domesticated for the State, capitalism, the Church, and Morality, when Mother ~~Earth~~ Earth becomes the common heritage of the race, a means for well-being and joy, then the differentiation between society and the individual, the aggregate and the unity will be no more.

For that we need an intellectual and material rebirth, Walt realized this, therefore he pleads in "Democratic Vistas" for a great and profound literature for America. He ~~values~~ <sup>values</sup> powerfully of the material things of life, of labor, food, houses, the fields. But he was the last to see in the present conditions a democratic ideal, conditions which drive, trample upon and degrade man into the very dust.

The poet who was nothing less than the interpreter of the Cosmos, with all its wildness, its storm and stress, its instincts and dominant urge, could certainly not pass by

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the psychology of sex. He exposed ~~the~~ <sup>our</sup> human body to the glowing light of the day, he liberated our senses from hypocrisies and sham, hence he created pale terror all about him. Naturally, what are these moral spies who have grown grey with virtue to make of these passages from "Children of Adam."

"This is the female form, a divine nimbus exhaled from head to foot,  
It attracts with fierce undeniable attraction, *helpless*  
I'm drawn by its breath, as if I were no more than  
a vapor, all falls aside but myself and it,  
Books, art, religion, time, the visible and solid  
earth, and what was expected of heaven, or fear of  
hell are now consumed,  
Mad filaments, ungovernable shoots play out of it,  
the response likewise ungovernable.  
Hair, bosom, hips, bend of legs, negligent falling  
hands, all diffused, mine to diffuse,  
Ebb ebbing by the flow and flow by ebbing by the ebb,  
Love - flesh swelling and deliciously aching,  
Limitless limpid jets of love, hot and enormous,  
quivering jelly of love, white-blow and delirious  
juice,  
Bridegroom night of love working surely and softly  
into the prestrate dawn,  
Undulating into the willing and yielding day,  
Lost in the cleave of the clasping ~~and~~ sweet fleshed  
day"

or

A woman waits for me, she contains all, nothing  
is lacking,  
Yet all were lacking if sex were lacking, or if  
the moisture of the right man were lacking.

Sex contains all, bodies, souls,  
Meanings, truths, purities, delicious, results, presul-  
gations.  
Songs, commands, health, pride, the maternal mystery,  
the seminal milk,

All hopes, benefactions, bestowals, all the passions,  
loves, beauties, delights of the earth,  
All the governments, judges, gods, followed persons  
of the earth

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These are contained in sex as parts of itself and justifications of itself.

Without shame the man I like knows and avows the deliciousness of his sex,  
Without ~~shame~~ ~~shame~~ shame the woman I like knows and avows hers.  
Now I will disengage myself from impassive women,  
I will go stay with her who waits for me, and with those women that are warm blooded and sufficient for me,  
I see that they understand and do not deny me,  
I see that they are worthy of me, I will be the robust husband of those women.

"Is that not more awful than the unrequited love?" the latter is mostly the retical, "terrible enough" ~~xxx~~ but Walt glorifies the sexual sense without any limitation whatever. The Puritane argue, the sexual embrace is unfortunately indispensable for the procreation of the race, but also if that motive does not exist, sex must be tabooed and the poet should keep in bounds. Indeed, dear old Walt expected too much of his country which for nearly half a century maintained and paid a centralized censorship, when he gave her his glorious song of sex. Even Lowell who belongs to the free poets of America seems to have found "Leaves of Grass" too strong. Not so Thoreau. He said, "It is not Walt Whitman who is indecent, but decency and respectability are truly indecent and immoral."

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The works of Whitman are an inexhaustible force of spontaneity. Whitman considered himself an irrepressible outlaw compared with the academically trained, literary men. He completely throws overboard the paraphernalia of the aestheticism, he assures us that his art is not only art, but "a cause" a world in itself.

First the human, then the literary. Consider this is no book, it touches men. It is entirely misleading to call Whitman the poet of democracy, neither is it enough to speak of him as America's poet ~~in the sense that~~ ~~in the sense that~~ in the sense that he was born in the American atmosphere: His wishes and aims were higher. It is easily understood that such a poet should be inspired by the wild ruggedness and the great possibilities of America. He hoped from this country so young, and so rich in elemental resources that it would become intellectually a giant. He called for conscious endeavor in that direction, but he experienced many disappointments.

Heracoe Troubl is right when he says "Walt Whitman as far as America is concerned is very universal, he saw in America the free earth upon which a free strong humanity should dwell. But even America was to him only a part of the universe which he aimed to penetrate so passionately and poetically. One would do Whitman, the poet, a great injustice to see in him the apologist and sponsor of the democratic institutions."

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His art had absolutely nothing in common with the "national" art which reiterates the stale slogan of "My Country 'tis of Thee" or "Star Spangled Banner". He was as unlike the average democrat, as the anarchist is unlike the typical Bourgeois.

On closer examination of Whitman's democracy, of his ideal of the people, we will discover that it does not exist at all. Whitman did neither approve nor glorify the end of democracy whose functions ~~whenever~~ consists in mustering up majorities for electoral slaughter. Walt Whitman had a social and humanistic ideal. He saw in politics nothing but a cunning game, a pastime of a shrewd clique for their own benefit.

Let us see what Walt Whitman has to say of his ideal city. "Where the men and women think lightly of the laws, Where the slave ceases, and the masters of slaves ceases, Where the populace rise at once against the never-ending audacity of elective persons!"

Just ask the democratic president, mayor, judge or policeman what they think of Walt Whitman's democracy. Their answer would probably be that it is rank anarchy inciting to riot and disorder.

In democratic vistas Walt demands on the basis of democracy full play for human nature to expend itself in numberless and even conflicting directions. A more rigid criticism <sup>he</sup> gave of America is hardly possible. He said this: "Know you not, dear earnest reader, that the people of our land may all read and write and may all possess the right to vote - yet the main things be entirely lacking?"

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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"For, I say, the true nationality of the State, the genuine union, when we come to a mortal crisis is, and is to be, after all neither the written law, nor as is generally supposed, either self-interest or common pecuniary, or material objects - but the fervid and tremendous IDEA, melting everything else with resistless heat, and solving all lesser and definite distinctions in vast, indefinite, spiritual, emotional power"

Or if we consider Walt Whitman's attitude towards the American spirit we will find it contains more truth now than at the time it was written.

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W A L T   W H I T M A N

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Last summer I listened to the reading of a very fine paper on Walt Whitman, at the Public Library of this city.

I was struck by what seem to me a futile attempt on the part of some of the men who participated in the discussion to contrast Walt Whitman with some European poets. Not that Whitman was the greatest of all times or all nations. I even think some of his biographers have rendered the poet of *Leaves of Grass* scant services when they proclaimed him greater than Homer and Socrates. (The difference between Walt Whitman and the Europeans is the difference between youth and old age. Europe is old, firmly set in the groove of traditions, hemmed and hedged in by parchments, by learning derived in grey institutions, taught by grey decrepit gentlemen.

Walt Whitman is hewn from the rocks of gigantic mountains, of the depth of the Arizona canyons, the rush of the Niagara, the freshness of the open air. "*Leaves of Grass*" is a child of nature, primitive, wild, unhampered like a bird untamed, carried sky-ward by its strong wings, giving forth out of its pure lungs the song of freedom, the song of the ecstacy of love, the delight of passion - the song of humanity which embraced all and understood all. (Unlike European poets with their roots in a decaying civilization, Walt Whitman was the singer of a new world - a culture in the making - America, a giant, savage, seeking expression. Whitman was therefore unlike other poets, a pioneer unique both in form of his art and in the ideas and feelings his poetry conveys.

One of the gentlemen at that lecture who, as I understand, is one of your Classicists, highly respectable and very much of the old order, repudiated Whitman as confused and vulgar and assured the audience that in England those who like Swinburn first gloried in Whitman, soon would have none of him because of his vulgarity.

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Along other things, this critic of Whitman said

"Fancy saying to the King of England: 'Hello George' and to the Prime Minister: 'Hello Stanley.'" Such familiarity is artificial, false, unreal."

The old gentleman showed utter lack of grasp of the breadth of Walt Whitman's outlook on life, his all-embracing kinship with his fellowman, his utter abhorance of a civilization which separated the human race in kings and subjects, in rich and poor, in high and low. (Whitman saw in man not the artificial garments, not the trappings which alienates man from man and man from himself, but the naked human soul stripped of all pretense, bombast, falsehoods and hypocrisy. It is this quivering, yearning, feeling, suffering human soul which to Walt Whitman represented at once the highest majesty, and the humblest child of nature. Whitman's familiarity was therefore as much part of his untrammelled being as the very air his lungs inhaled. There was no artifice about it. It was his boundless love for all living things which made Whitman so unconscious and nonchalant. ~~It was the complete lack of understanding for Whitman as rebel and poet which decided me to speak on the subject.~~

Perhaps it is inevitable that so great a creative artist as Whitman should call forth violent attractions and repulsions. Certain it is that some of the friends of this poet as well as all of his enemies, have overdrawn their pictures. To call Walt Whitman a saint or to estimate him greater than Homer and Socrates seems as one-sided as to say that he is no poet at all - that he was the incarnation of the devil. To me the greatness and supremacy of Walt consists in the fact that he was human, all too human. It is the essentially human in him which makes his work "Leaves of Grass" the most human document in literature. For did he not himself tell us of "Leaves of Grass": "He who touches this touches a man." there is certainly no other work which touches man as this extraordinary book. It is indeed not a

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book but a living human being with all its contradictory  
impulses, emotions, thoughts and aspirations.

Mr. Louis Untermeyer, in his anthology of the best  
American poetry is right when he calls Whitman the "Poet  
emancipator" of America. He closed the door on the "Brahmin"  
the "gentlemen of Boston." The Civil war and Whitman together  
placed Longfellow, Bryant, Whittier, Lowell, Emerson and their  
like, farther back in time, as time is reckoned by the spirit  
of an age. "He led the way toward a wider aspect of democracy;  
he took his readers out of dusty, lamp-lit libraries into the  
coarse sunlight and the buoyant air.....The cosmic and the  
commonplace were synonymous to him.... he transmuted, by the  
intensity of his emotion, material which has been hitherto  
regarded as too unpoetic for poetry" He was the great figure  
of the age in which American literature suddenly became intensely  
American.<sup>1</sup>

It seems almost incredible that at this late day  
there should still be people who have never heard of Walt  
Whitman. It is therefore necessary to give a very brief  
biographic outline of the man and his work

Walt Whitman was born at Pauamanok, Long Island, New  
York State, in May 1819. On both sides he came of substantial  
family. His father was descended from English settlers of  
the seventeenth century, sturdy independent farmers, who  
lived a hardy outdoor life; his mother had Dutch blood in  
her veins, though it was blended with a typical Quaker stock,  
with its noble traditions of simplicity, dignity, and spirit-  
uality. Whitman held firmly to the belief that he owed much  
to his ancestry, 'to the tenacity and central bony structure'  
as he calls it, 'of his English forbears; and still more to  
those qualities which came to him from his mother's side. "The  
best of every man" he said, "is his Mother", and the influences  
of his early life ~~was~~ both vital and permanent.

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"At the age of eleven he was errand boy to a lawyer, and two years later he had begun his long connection with journalism. Then in 1836, there was a brief phase of journalism in New York; but he soon returned to his native Long Island, where he spent four or five years as a teacher with at least one interval during which he ran a newspaper of his own. Reminiscences of him at this time speak of the force and charm of his personality as already conspicuous."

X Mr. John Bailly, one of Whitman's biographers, and by far not favorable to Walt, nevertheless admits that what made him the man and the poet he became was no following of any hero or master, but his own peculiar genius which enabled him to observe, absorb and even love all sorts and conditions of things and people, human, animal and vegetable, in that hurrying and already crowded life of New York and its neighbourhood. And not merely to absorb. There was in his genius resistance as well as adaptability, and in spite of his universal interests and sympathies he remained an individualist, a heretic, a rebel; in a word, himself.

It was in January 1848 that he resigned his editorship of the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, and almost immediately afterwards he left the world and neighbourhood in which he had been brought up, having accepted an engagement on a newspaper at New Orleans. He stayed at New Orleans only a few months, but during that time he appears to have had an experience which affected his whole life. As Walt Whitman has left not a scrap of paper to tell us anything about this affair, and as he went to his grave without having breathed a word even to his most devoted friend Horace Traubel, though he did on several occasions say he would tell him this great secret, no one can really say anything about this affair.

Mr. Bine, another of his biographers, will have it that Whitman "formed an intimate relationship with some woman of higher social rank than his own", and that she became the



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mother of a child who was his, and perhaps of others later on.

There was no marriage: and the extreme reticence of Whitman, the least reticent of men, on the whole subject suggests that it was in her interest, or at her desire, or owing to the pressure of her family, that there was no marriage, and that the whole story was kept so secret. Near the end of his life he wrote a letter to John Addington Symonds about it and mentioned a grandson with whom he was in frequent communication.

He said in this letter that he had had six children: and Traubel <sup>notes</sup> that in his later years he made frequent allusions to his fatherhood. When his grandson came to visit him in his last illness Traubel regretted that he had not been there and met the young man: "God forbid," said Whitman. Evidently there was some mystery which will probably never be penetrated now."

This experience was however very decisive in Whitman's life, for very soon after his return he began to write "Leaves of Grass." In 1855 appeared the first edition which brought the poet nothing in material results. Instead it marked the beginning of many years of calumny, vile attack, and bitter opposition. Also it brought him something which was balm to his aching soul, a letter from Emerson. This is the letter:

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Concord, Mass.  
July 21st, 1855.

Dear Sir:- I am not blind to the worth of the wonderful gift of 'Leaves of Grass.' I find it the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet contributed. I am very happy in reading it, as great power makes us happy. It meets the demand I am always making of what seems the sterile and stingy Nature, as if too much handiwork or too much lymph in the temperament were making our Western wits fat and mean. I give you joy of your free and brave thought. I have great joy in it. I find incomparable things, said incomparably well, as they must be. I find the courage of treatment which so delights us, and which large perception only



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can inspire.

"I greet you at the beginning of a great career, which yet must have had a long foreground somewhere, for such a start. I rubbed my eyes a little to see if this sun-beam were no illusion; but the solid sense of the book is a sober certainty. It has the best merits, namely, of fortifying and encouraging.

"I did not know, until I last night saw the book advertised in a newspaper, that I could trust the name as real and available for a post-office.

"I wish to see my benefactor, and have felt much like striking my tasks, and visiting New York to pay you my respects.

"R.W. Emerson."

Whitman published this letter in the second edition of "Leaves of Grass" and was roundly denounced by many people for what they called a breach of privacy and taste. These wisacres could not grasp that the encouraging greeting from Emerson must have been like manna to the famished soul of the poet who found himself so alone and misunderstood in his first sublime attempt. Besides, Whitman was too natural to care about silly etiquette. He probably thought that Emerson, being a public man and writing about a public work, did not intend the letter to remain unknown. The fact is Emerson minded it less than the barking dogs who fell on Walt Whitman.

In 1860, when Walt lived in Boston to supervise the third enlarged edition of "Leaves of Grass", he was a frequent visitor of Emerson. On one occasion Emerson spent two hours with Walt in a long walk, trying to convince him of the need of eliminating his poems on sex. Walt listened attentively and in the end refused. Twenty-eight years later he said to Traubel: "I never once regretted my decision."

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Then came an event which tried his spirit as well as his body, the Civil War in 1862. He went to the front not as a soldier but first in search for his brother George, who had been wounded. He remained as a nurse.

He was charged with cowardice because he did not enlist. As if it did not require greater courage to stand out against a popular war wave.

Walt said: "I had my temptations, but they were not strong enough to make me go. I could never think of myself as firing a gun or drawing a sword on another man."

Walt did greater work than killing his fellows. He nursed them back to life and health, or gave them love and cheer to the end.

The effect Walt Whitman had on the sick is vividly described by his valiant friend, O'Connor:

"Never shall I forget one night when I accompanied him on his rounds through a hospital, filled with those wounded young Americans whose heroism he has sung in deathless numbers. There were three rows of cots, and each cot bore its man. When he appeared, in passing along, there was a smile of affection and welcome on every face, however wan, and his presence seemed to light up the place as it might be lit by the presence of the Son of Love. From cot to cot they called him, often in tremulous tones or in whispers; they embraced him, they touched his hand, they gazed at him. To one he gave a few words of cheer, for another he wrote a letter home, to others he gave an orange, a few comfits, a cigar, a pipe and tobacco, a sheet of paper or a postage stamp, all of which and many other things were in his capacious haversack. From another he would receive a dying message for mother, wife, or sweetheart; for another he would promise to go on an errand; to another, some special friend, very low, he would give a manly farewell kiss. He did the things for them which no nurse or doctor could do, and he seemed to leave a benediction at every cot as he passed along. The lights

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had gleamed for hours in the hospital that night before he left  
it, and as he took his way towards the door, you could hear the  
voice of many a stricken hero calling, "Walt, Walt, Walt, come  
again! come again!"

Whitman spent ten years in Washington. He went there  
early in 1863. In January 1873 he had a paralytic stroke which,  
with his mother's death occurring soon after, brought his life  
and work at Washington to an end, and sent him to spend else-  
where his remaining nineteen years, a broken man who only enjoyed  
intervals of health, a martyr also in his turn to the cause for  
which he had seen so many young men die. But, dearly as he paid  
for them, he would never for a moment have said that those years  
at Washington had not been a thousand times worth while.

While in Washington he was first given a clerkship  
in the Indian Bureau of the Department of the Interior. But  
not for long. Somebody called the attention of his official  
chief, the Secretary of the Interior, one Harlan, to the fact  
that Whitman was the author of "Leaves of Grass." Mr. Harlan  
was a strict Methodist; and the result of a perusal of a copy  
of that work which Whitman had in his desk and was using in  
the preparation of a new edition was a note that "the service  
of Walter Whitman will be dispensed with from and after this  
date." The dismissal did him no particular harm, as O'Connor  
persuaded the Attorney-General to transfer him to his own  
department. It led O'Connor to write The Good Gray Poet, an

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In 1871 Walt brought out a fifth edition of "Leaves of Grass" containing his new poems, among them his stirring poem of Lincoln.

After his mother's death Walt lived with his brother George in Camden for a while. The stroke kept him confined for a considerable time, but his spirit soared on. "Prayer to Columbus", "The Song of the Redwood Tree", and "The Song of the Universal" were created during that period.

In 1876 "Leaves of Grass" was published in England by his devoted friends, Rossetti and others. Long before this, his poems gained for himself the passionate championship and devotion of an outstanding woman in England, Anne Gilchrist.

"In the same year appeared "Two Rivulets", which included "Passage to India" and some new pieces both of prose and verse, and a later edition was assailed by the Boston District Attorney soon after it appeared, and therefore abandoned by the publishers.

In 1882 he issued the final edition of the Leaves, now separated from the prose; at the same time he published the prose volume, Specimen Days. In 1888 he had another paralytic attack, and lay for some days apparently dying. But he once more partially recovered, and before the year was out was able to enjoy the publication of November Boughs, which again included both prose and verse. This was the last volume but one, the last of all being Good-bye, my Fancy, which appeared late in 1891, a few months before his death. All the poems are now incorporated in Leaves of Grass. Whitman died March 27th, 1892.

"In 1880 he paid a visit to Canada as the guest of his friend and biographer Dr. Bucke. There he showed all his old eager interest both in Nature and in men; and was equally full of that intensity of life which is the hall-mark of genius. whether he was listening to birds, learning the names of



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Unlike most other interpreters of Whitman, O'Connor took "Leaves of Grass", as Walt told Traubel many years later, "not as an isolated fact but as a fact related to all other facts; he looked upon it as a new dispensation, an avatar, in incarnation." Leaves of Grass "was not a literary but a historic, a human, fact." O'Connor took the largest view. "Shakespeare was to him an era - only to be studied in that light," "The meanings of Leaves of Grass could only be read "in the meanings of its age."



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Walt Whitman  
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drive us into an inevitable resentment, then revolt, of some  
sort. The prospect of it all would make me shudder if I didn't  
know that something must happen - that we can't push on much  
farther in this direction."

"I want the people; most of all the people; the crowd,  
the mass, the whole body of the people; men, women, children; I  
want them to have what belongs to them; not a part of it, not  
most of it, but all of it; I want anything done that will give  
the people their proper opportunities - their full life; anything,  
anything; whether by one means or another, I want the people to be  
given their due."

"My general position is plain; the people; all the  
people; not forgetting the bad with the good; they are to-day  
swindled, robbed, outraged, discredited, despised. I say they  
must assert their priority - that they come first; not the swells,  
the parlors, the superiors, the elect, the polished; no, not them;  
the people, the fraternal, eternal people; evil and righteous, no  
matter; the people."

"I want the arrogant money powers disciplined, called  
to time; I think I shall rejoice in anything the people do to  
demonstrate their contempt for the conditions under which they  
are despised."

Walt said: "We need most of all to be saved from our-  
selves; our own hells, hates, jealousies, thieveries; we need most  
to be saved from our own priests - the priests of the churches,  
the priests of the arts; we need that salvation the worst way."  
The-Colonel-had Traubel replied: "We still have the priests of  
commerce to contend with." "So we have; doubly so; the priests  
of commerce augmented by the priests of churches, who are every-  
where the parasites, the apologists, of systems as they exist."

And in his prose works Walt Whitman summarizes the  
condition of his time in these words:

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"The best class we show, is but a mob of respectably  
dressed speculators and vulgarians. True, indeed, behind this  
fantastic farce, enacted on the visible stage of society, solid  
things and stupendous labors are to be discovered, existing  
crudely and going on in the background, to advance and tell them-  
selves in time. Yet the truths are none the less terrible. I say  
that our New World democracy, however great a success in uplifting  
the masses out of their sloughs, in materialistic development,  
products, and in a certain highly-deceptive superficial popular  
intellectuality, is, so far, an almost complete failure in its  
social aspects, and in really grand religious, moral, literary,  
and aesthetic results."

Walt Whitman's penetrating eye saw fifty years ago what  
the mass of his countrymen still do not see. Certainly his poem  
song of democracy is more than ever a dream in America and in  
the rest of the world democracy is a delusion and a snare, cast  
out on the dust-heap. In its stead dictatorship, black and red,  
shirted, stalks about as the new deity worshipped by the "mob  
of respectably dressed speculators and vulgarians."

Yet it is none the less true that Walt Whitman was  
among the few of his time to see clearly and to cry out against  
the evils with all the intensity of his poetic soul. He was  
indeed the Prophet.

The political and economic conditions facing Walt  
Whitman were not the only evils <sup>against</sup> which ~~Walt Whitman~~ <sup>he</sup> ~~lived~~ <sup>lived</sup>.  
There was Puritanism, polluting the very main-springs of life -  
sex. Not that we are already free from the puritan scourge.  
But seventy-five years ago when Walt Whitman's song of sex was  
given to the world Puritanism reigned supreme, besmirching,  
degrading and outraging all that makes for health and beauty  
and naturalness. Walt's was a voice in dense wilderness, the  
first to cry out for the liberation of sex; the first to tear  
off the Puritanic rags which disfigured the bodies of men and  
women. Especially woman, who even more than man, was bound  
to the block of Puritanism. No song of sex was ever written

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that can compare with the purity, wholesomeness, elemental sweep  
as the song contained in "The Children of Adam." If Walt Whit-  
man had written nothing else but "A Woman Waits for Me", or "One  
Hour to Madness and Joy", he would have gained for himself a  
niche among the immortals, not only as poet but as the great  
liberator of the human body - the fearless innovator of what has  
come to be recognized by all modern scientists as the very basis  
of all life - the most impelling force of our thoughts and actions.

## X A WOMAN WAITS FOR ME.

A woman waits for me, she contains all, nothing is lacking.  
Yet all were lacking if sex were lacking, or if the moisture of  
the right man were lacking.

Sex contains all, bodies, souls,  
Meanings, proofs, purities, deliciousness, results, promulgations,  
Songs, commands, health, pride, the maternal mystery, the seminal  
milk,

All hopes, benefactions, bestowals, all the passions, loves,  
beauties, delights of the earth,

All the governments, judges, gods, follow'd persons of the earth,  
These are contain'd in sex as parts of itself and justifications  
of itself.

Without shame the man I like knows and avows the deliciousness of  
his sex,

Without shame the woman I like knows and avows hers.

And in his prose, Walt writes:

"I look at the girls - at the childless woman - at the  
old maids, as you speak of them; they lack something; they are  
not completed; something yet remains undone. They are not quite  
full - not quite entire; the woman who has denied the best of  
herself - the woman who has discredited the animal want, the  
eager physical hunger, the wish of that which though we will not

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allow it to be freely spoken of is still the basis of all that  
makes life worth while and advances the horizon of discovery.  
Sex; sex; sex; whether you sing or make a machine, or go to the  
North Pole, or love your mother, or build a house, or black shoes,  
or anything - anything at all - it's sex, sex, sex; sex is the  
root of it all; sex - the coming together of men and women; sex;  
sex."

Now there is not a Biologist, and sex psychologist who  
does not take the view of the man who seventy-five years ago, was  
hounded from pillar to post. What he was made to suffer we have  
from his own mouth and recorded by Horace Traubel in his talks  
with Whitman in Camden.

"It is the thing in my work which has been most mis-  
understood - that has excited the roughest opposition, the sharpest  
venom, the unintermitted slander, of the people who regard them-  
selves as the custodians of the morals of the world. Horace,  
you are too young to know the fierceness, the bitterness, the  
vile quality, of this antagonism - how it threw aside all reserves  
and simply tore me to pieces metaphorically without giving me  
half a chance to make my meanings clear. You have only heard the  
echoes of that uproar; it's bad enough, still, to be sure - bad  
enough even in its echoes; but we have to some extent worn the  
enemy out - have in some part won our contention."

Perhaps this mad onslaught on Walt Whitman may explain  
his reticence as regards the nature of his Calamus poems. That  
they are homo-sexual only prejudice will deny. Fact is that  
nearly all biographers of Whitman have either ignored the nature  
of these poems or have apologized for them. Prof. Hallaway does  
so in a very recent work. This merely goes to prove how slowly  
people develop from their inhibitions.

Walt Whitman believed in the equality of the sexes -  
he wanted woman to be as free and equal as the man. He saw



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woman take her place in literature, art, political and social life to "show what are her inner potencies, powers, attributes." He is supposed to have had a violent love affair in New Orleans, and according to his own admission to Addington Symonds, he was the father of six children. Finally he has been reported by Dr. Buks as saying that he never married because he wanted to retain his independence. All that no doubt, is true, but does not disprove the fact that Walt Whitman was very strongly intermediate in his sexual feelings. Proof for that are his poems and even more so his letters to Peter Doyle, the car conductor, he met when the latter was a boy of eighteen - a friendship which lasted for years and which was imbued with much fervour and passion.

No letters written to women, not even to Anne Gilchrist, his English admirer, contain anything like the ardour Whitman's letters to Doyle contain.

Fact is, Whitman wrote very few letters to women or if he did, he has destroyed them for very few could be found.

Anne Gilchrist, from the first time she read "Leaves of Grass" became Whitman's most fiery defender and champion. Gradually her admiration for the poet ripened into an elemental, passionate love as often happens in the ~~fix~~ dangerous age of woman. Anne Gilchrist poured her very soul into her letters to Walt. But they elicited no response. He admired her, considered her one of the finest women of her age, was deeply grateful to her for her championship. When Mrs. Gilchrist came to America, settled in Philadelphia, Walt Whitman spent much time with her and her children in a delightful companionship. But his love was not for her, nor for any other woman. His love was for Peter Doyle and other men who had been in his life. All Whitman's companions, from earliest boyhood to his death, were men - even his nurses were men, although he often said that women, and not men, make the best nurses.

Why enlightened people should still find it necessary to deny and cover up a dominant trait which was part of the greatest art period in the world, namely, Greek civilisation, or which was inherent in such immortal souls as Plato, Socrates,



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Sappho, Michel Angelo, Shakespeare, if his connote are an indica-  
tion, or Wagner, Oscar Wilde, Addington Symond, Edward Carpenter,  
I cannot understand. Sex variation is still very much of a mys-  
tery. All we know about it is that in certain periods of life -  
the adolescent stage - nearly everything is intermediate. The  
love of girls for girls, or girls for their favorite woman-  
teachers, and that of boys and boys and their favorite male  
teachers, are a common occurrence.

To be sure in some cases this trait remains all through  
life. But while the intermediate sex stream like all sex is of  
physical origin, it does not always express itself physically.  
It may turn into a very ardent friendship, often more lasting  
and enduring than the love for woman.

I am not concerned in that so much as I am concerned in  
the cause of the universal all-embracing capacity for love in the  
man and poet, Walt Whitman. The more I read his works and the  
more I have studied what has been written about him, the clearer  
it is to me that it was his sex differentiation which enriched his  
nature, hence enriched his knowledge of and his understanding for  
human complexities. Walt Whitman's idea of universal comradeship  
was conditioned in his magnetic response to his own sex. So was  
his extraordinary sensitiveness to the nature of woman condi-  
tioned in the fact that he had considerable femininity in him.  
All combined went to make up his greatness as poet and rebel  
and needs no apology or defense.

How truly universal was Whitman's love can be adduced  
from his beautiful attitude to the outcast - the criminal, the  
prostitute - to every derelict made by man's inhumanity to man.

He sang:

## YOU FELONS ON TRIAL IN COURTS

You felons on trial in courts,  
You convicts in prison-cells, you sentenced assassins chain'd  
and handcuff'd with iron.

Who am I too that I am not on trial or in prison?  
Me ruthless and devilish as any, that my wrists are not chain'd  
with iron, or my ankles with iron?

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O culpable! I acknowledge -- I expose!

(O admirers, praise not me -- compliment not me -- you make me wince,

I see what you do not -- I know what you do not.)

Inside these breast-bones I lie smutch'd and choked,

Beneath this face that appears so impassive hell's tides

continually run,

Lusts and wickedness are acceptable to me,

I walk with delinquents with passionate love,

I feel I am of them -- I belong to those convicts and prostitutes  
myself.

And henceforth I will not deny them -- for how can I deny myself?

## TO A COMMON PROSTITUTE

Be composed -- be at ease with me -- I am Walt Whitman Liberal and  
lusty as Nature,

Not till the sun excluder you do I exclude you,

Not till the waters refuse to glisten for you and the leaves to  
rustle for you, do my words refuse to glisten and rustle for you.

## THE CITY DEAD-HOUSE

By the city dead-house by the gate,

As idly sauntering wending my way from the olango,

I curious pause, for lo, an outcast form, a poor dead prostitute  
brought,

Her corpse they deposit unclaim'd, it lies on the damp brick  
pavement,

The divine woman, her body, I see the body, I look on it alone,

That house once full of passion and beauty, all else I notice not,

Nor stillness so cold, nor running water from faucet, nor odours  
morbific impress me,

But the house alone -- that wondrous -- that delicate fair house--  
that ruin!

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That immortal house more than all the rows of dwellings ever built!  
Or white-domed capitol with majestic figure surmounted, or all  
the old high-spired cathedrals,

That little house alone more than them all -- poor, desperate house!  
Fair, fearful wreck -- tenement of a soul -- itself a soul,  
Unclaim'd, avoided house -- take one breath from my tremulous lips,  
Take one tear dropt aside as I go for thought of you,

Dead house of love -- house of madness and sin, crumbled, crush'd.  
House of life, erewhile talking and laughing -- but ah, poor house,  
dead even then,

Months, years, an echoing, garnish'd house -- but dead, dead, dead.

Where are the Christians, Puritans, humanitarians, who  
can equal this in humanity, kinship, understanding. There are  
none, none. Today man is more blood-thirsty and venomous than  
at any time. More lashes, more prisons, more punishment, torture,  
outrage in the daily cry in press, pulpit and the platform.

Democracy as conceived and sung by Walt Whitman, is  
still far from come. Whatever some of her admirers have once  
thought of democracy, they have recanted, sacrificed to the rule  
of dictatorship. Mr. George Bernard Shaw and many others have  
now become the pall-bearers of democracy, slain by the Teutons  
and Fascism.

What Walt Whitman wrote to a European Revolutionair,  
holds good for the revolutionair of the whole world today.

The battle rages with many a loud alarm and frequent advance and  
retreat,

The infidel triumphs, or supposes he triumphs,

The prison, scaffold, garrote, handcuffs, iron necklacs and  
lead-balls do their work,

The named and unnamed heroes pass to other spheres,

The great speakers and writers are exiled, they lie sick in  
distant lands,

The cause is asleep, the strongest throats are choked with their  
own blood,

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The young men droop their eyelashes toward the ground when they  
meet;

But for all this Liberty has not gone out of the place, nor  
the infidel enter'd into full possession.

When Liberty goes out of a place it is not the first to go, nor  
the second or third to go,  
It waits for all the rest to go, it is the last.

When there are no more memories of heroes and martyrs,  
And when all life and all the souls of men and women are  
discharged from any part of the earth,  
Then only shall liberty or the idea of liberty be discharged from  
that part of the earth,

We need Walt Whitman now more than ever. We need his  
indomitable courage, his beautiful comradeship, his stirring  
song, that we may not falter in our efforts to build the new life  
out of the ruins of the old, for the new city stands

Where no monuments exist to heroes but in the common words and deeds,  
Where thrift is in its place, and prudence is in its place,  
Where the men and women think lightly of the laws,  
Where the slave ceases, and the master of slaves ceases,  
Where the populace rise at once against the never-ending audacity  
of elected persons,

Where fierce men and women pour forth as the sea to the whistle  
of death pours its sweeping and unript waves,

Where children are taught to be laws to themselves, and to  
depend on themselves,

Where equanimity is illustrated in affairs,

Where speculations on the soul are encouraged,

Where women walk in public processions in the streets the same  
as the men,

Where they enter the public assembly and take places the same  
as the men;



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STANLEY HOUGHTON

Hindle Wakes.

*August 1919*  
In Stanley Houghton, who died last year, the drama

lost a talented and brave artist. Brave, because he had the courage to touch one of the most sensitive spots of Puritanism - woman's virtue. Whatever else one may criticise or attack, the sacredness of virtue must remain untouched. It is the last fetish which even so-called liberal-minded people refuse to destroy.

To be sure, the attitude towards this holy of holies has of late years undergone a considerable change. It is beginning to be felt in ever-growing circles that love is its own justification, requiring no sanction of either religion or law. The revolutionary idea, however, that woman may, even as man, follow the urge of her nature, has never before been so sincerely and radically expressed.

The message of "Hindle Wakes" is therefore of inestimable value, inasmuch as it dispels the fog of the silly

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sentimentalism and disgusting bombast that declares woman  
a thing apart from nature - one who neither does nor must  
crave the joys of life permissible to man.

Hindle is a small weaving town, symbolically,  
representing the wakefulness of every small community to the  
shortcomings of its neighbors.

Christopher Hawthorne and Nathaniel Jeffcoate had  
begun life together as lads in the cotton mill. But  
while Christopher was always a timid and shrinking boy,  
Nathaniel was aggressive and ambitious. When the play  
opens, Christopher though an old man, is still a poor  
weaver; Nathaniel, on the contrary, has reached the top  
of financial and social success. He is the owner of the  
biggest mill; is wealthy, influential, and withal a man  
of power. For Nathaniel Jeffcoate always loved power and  
social approval. Speaking of the motor he bought for his  
only son, Alan, he tells his wife:

Jeffcoate. Why did I buy a motor car? Not because I  
wanted to go motoring. I hate it. I bought it so that

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people could see Alan driving about in it, and say,

"There's Jeffoote's lad in his new car. It cost five  
hundred quid."

However, Nathaniel is a "square man," and when facing  
an emergency, not chary with justice and always quick to  
decide in its favor.

The Jeffootes center all their hopes on Alan their  
only child, who is to inherit their fortune and  
business. Alan is engaged to Beatrice, the lovely, sweet  
daughter of Sir Timothy Farrar, and all is joyous at the  
Jeffootes'.

Down in the valley of Hindle live the Hawthornee,  
humble and content, as behooves God-fearing workers. They  
too have ambitions in behalf of their daughter Fanny,  
strong, willful, and self-reliant, qualities molded in the  
hard grind of Jeffoote's mill, where she had begun work as  
a tot.

During the "bank holiday" Fanny with her chum Mary  
goes to a neighbouring town for an outing. There they

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meet two young men, Alan Jeffcoote and his friend. Fanny departs with Alan, and they spend a glorious time together. On the way home Mary is drowned. As a result of the accident the Hawthornes learn that their daughter had not spent her vacation with Mary. When Fanny returns, they question her, and though she at first refuses to give an account of herself, they soon discover that the girl had passed the time with a man, - young Alan Jeffcoote. Her parents are naturally horrified, and decide to force the Jeffcootes to have Alan marry Fanny.

In the old mother of Fanny the author has succeeded in giving a most splendid characterization of the born drudge, hardened by her long struggle with poverty, and grown shrewd in the ways of the world. She knows her daughter so little, however, that she believes Fanny had schemed the affair with Alan in the hope that she might force him to marry her. In her imagination the old woman already sees Fanny as the mistress of the Jeffcoote estate. She persuades her husband to go immediately to the Jeffcootes, and though it is very late at night, the old

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man is forced to start out on his disagreeable errand.

Jeffcote, a man of integrity, is much shocked at the news brought to him by old Hawthorne. Nevertheless he will not countenance the wrong.

Jeffcote. I'll see you're treated right. Do you hear?

Christopher I can't ask for more than that.

Jeffcote. I'll see you're treated right.

Young Alan has never known responsibility. Why should he, with so much wealth awaiting him? When confronted by his father and told that he must marry Fanny he fights hard against it. It may be said in justice to Alan, that he really loves his betrothed, Beatrice, though such a circumstance has never deterred the Alans from having a lark with another girl.

The young man resents his father's command to marry the mill girl. But when even Beatrice insists that he belongs to Fanny, Alan unwillingly consents. Beatrice, a devote Christian, believes in renunciation.

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Beatrice. I ~~de~~need you, Alan. So much that nothing on earth could make me break off our engagement, if I felt that it was at all possible to let it go on. But it isn't. It's impossible.

Alan. And you want me to marry Fanny?

Beatrice. Yes. Oh, Alan! can't you see what a splendid sacrifice you have it in your power to make? Not only to do the right thing, but to give up so much in order to do it.

The Jeffcotes and the Hawthornes gather to arrange the marriage of their children. It does not occur to them to consult Fanny in the matter. Much to their consternation, Fanny refuses to abide by the decision of the family council.

Fanny It's very good of you. YOU'll hire the parson and get the license and make all the arrangements on your own without consulting me, and I shall have nothing to do save turn up meek as a lamb at the church or registry office, or whatever it is ... That's just where you make the mistake. I don't want to marry Alan . ... I mean what I say, and I'll trouble you to talk to me without swearing at me. I'm not one of the family yet.

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That didn't occur to you?

Alan. Look here, Fanny, I promise you I'll treat you fair all the time. You don't need to fear that folk'll look down on you. We shall have too much money for that.

Fanny. I can manage all right on twenty-five bob a week.

Alan. I'm going to fall between two stools. It's all up with Beatrice, of course. And if you won't have me I shall have parted from her to no purpose; besides getting picked out of the house by my father, more than likely! You said you were fond of me once, but it hasn't taken you long to alter.

Fanny. All women aren't built alike. Beatrice is religious. She'll be sorry for you. I was fond of you in a way.

Alan. But you didn't ever really love me?

Fanny. Love you? Good heavens, of course not! Why on earth should I love you? You were just someone to have a bit of fun with. You were an amusement - a lark. How much more did you care for me?

Alan. But it's not the same. I'm a man.

Fanny. You're a man, and I was your little fancy. Well, I'm a woman, and you were my little fancy. You wouldn't prevent a woman enjoying herself as well as a man, if she takes it into her head?

Alan. But do you mean to say that you didn't care any more for me than a fellow cares for any girl he happens to pick up?

Fanny. Yes. Are you shocked?

Alan. It's a bit thick; it is really!

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Fanny. You're a beauty to talk!

Alan. It sounds so jolly immoral. I never thought of a girl looking on a chap just like that! I made sure you wanted to marry me if you got the chance.

Fanny. No fear! You're not good enough for me. The chap Fanny Hawthorn wedd has got to be made of different stuff from you, my lad. My husband, if ever I have one, will be a man, not a fellow who'll throw over his girl at his father's bidding! Strikes me the sons of these rich manufacturers are all much alike. They seem a bit weak in the upper story. It's their father's brass that's too much for them, happen! . . . You've no oall to be afraid. I'm not going to disgrace you. But so long as I've to live my own life, I don't see why I shouldn't choose what it's to be.

Unheard of, is it not, that a Fanny should refuse to be made a "good woman", and that she should dare demand the right to live in her own way? It has always been considered the most wonderful event in the life of a girl if a young man of wealth, of position, of station came into her life and said, "I will take you as my wife until death do us part."

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But a new type of girlhood is in the making. We are  
developing the Fannies who learn in the school of life, the  
hardest, the cruelest, and at the same time the most vital  
and instructive school. Why should Fanny marry a young man  
in order to become "good", any more than that he should  
marry her in order to become good? Is it not because we  
have gone on for centuries believing that woman's value, her  
integrity and position in society center about her sex and  
consist only in her virtue, and that all other usefulness  
weighs naught in the balance against her "purity"? If she  
dare express her sex as the Fannies do, we deny her  
individual and social worth, and stamp her fallen.

The past of a man is never questioned: no one inquires  
how many Fannies have been in his life. Yet man has the  
impudence to expect the Fannies to abstain till he is ready  
to bestow on them his name.

"Hindle Wakes" is a much needed and important social  
lesson, - not because it necessarily involves the idea  
that every girl must have sex experience before she meets

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the man she loves, but rather that she has the right to  
satisfy, if she so chooses, her emotional and sex demands  
like any other need of her mind and body. When the Fannies  
become conscious of that right, the relation of the sexes  
will lose the shallow romanticism and artificial  
exaggeration that mystery has surrounded it with, and assume  
a wholesome, natural, and therefore healthy and normal  
expression.

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August Strindberg.

In the preface to the second edition of Countess Julie Strindberg wrote; "The reproach has been levelled against my tragedy, "The Father", that it was so sad, as though one wanted merry tragedies. People clamour for the joy of life, and the theatrical managers order farces, as though the joy of life consisted in being foolish, and in describing people as if they were each and all afflicted with St. Vitus dance or idiocy. I find the joy of life in the powerful, oruel struggle of life, and my enjoyment in discovering something, learning something"

The passionate desire to discover something-to learn something, has made of August Strindberg a keen dissector of of souls. Above all, of his own soul.

Surely there is no figure in contemporary literature, outside of Tolstoy, that laid bare the most secret nooks and corners of his own soul with the sincerity of August Strindberg. One so relentlessly honest with himself, could be no less with others. That explains the bitter opposition and hatred of his critics. They did not object so much to Strindbergs self-torture;



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but that he should have dared to torture ~~them~~, to hold up his  
searching mirror to their sore spots, that they could not  
forgive.

Especially is this true of woman. For centuries she has  
been lulled into a trance by the songs of the troubadours who  
paid homage to her goodness, her sweetness, her selflessness,  
above all, her noble motherhood. And though she is beginning  
to appreciate that all this incense has befogged her mind  
*shunted her growth*  
~~and paralyzed her soul~~, she hates to give up the tribute  
laid ~~at~~ at her feet by sentimental moonshiners of the past.

To be sure, it is rude to turn on the full searchlight  
upon a painted face. But how is one to know what is back  
of the paint and artifice? August Strindberg hated artifice  
with all the passion of his being; hence his severe criticism  
of woman. Perhaps it was his tragedy to see her as she really  
is, and not as she appears in her trance. To love with open eyes  
is, indeed a tragedy, and Strindberg loved woman. All his life  
he yearned for her love, as mother, as wife, as companion.  
But his longing for, and his need of her, were the crucible  
of Strindberg, as they have been the crucible of every man,

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even of the mightiest spirits.

Why it is so is best expressed in the words of the old nurse, Margret, in "The Father": "Because all you men, great and small, are woman's children, every man of you".

The child in man-and the greater the man the more dominant the child in him- has ever succumbed to the Earth Spirit, Woman, and as long as that alone is her drawing power, Man, with his strength and genius, will ever be at her feet.

The Earth Spirit is motherhood carrying the race in its womb; the flame of life luring the moth, often against his will, to destruction.

In all of Strindberg's works we see the flame of life at work, rousing man's passion, consuming his faith, often ravishing his brain. Always, always the flame of life is drawing its victim with irresistible force. August Strindberg's arraignment of that force is at the same time a confession of faith. He, too, was the child of woman, and utterly helpless before her.

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79°

4.

Another factor in the appraisal of Strindbergs works which must not be overlooked is that he began to write in the early stage of the movement for womans political and social emancipation. And like all movements against the old standards the sponsors of woman's rights went to the very extreme in proclaiming almost ~~superhuman~~ superhuman results should woman become politically and economically free.

Thus it was prophecised that once woman will have the vote or equal opportunity of education, wars will cease, social evils will be abolished, justice and righteousness will be installed, in short, womans emancipation will bring about miraculous changes in society. Strindberg could not but repudiate such ridiculous claims, hence he was described as a woman hater.

Strindberg was born in Stockholm, Sweden, Jan. 22, 1849. His father was a ~~small trader~~ <sup>small trader</sup> in business, his mother ~~the~~ <sup>a</sup> servant in the house of his father. Strindberg had the audacity to ~~make his appearance~~ <sup>make his appearance</sup> two months before the regular time.

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5 *mother* 791  
his father having married Strindberg, when the future  
great writer was ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ already on his way.

~~Parents xxxxxxxx in the Strindberg home~~

In his childhood Strindberg suffered much  
humiliation and scorn as a result of the poverty of his  
parents and their doubtful moral and social position in the  
eyes of respectability. The environment and atmosphere of  
~~his home xxxxxxxx~~ his parental home and the  
school, through which he was driven as through purgatory, is  
presented in the "Son of a Servant" or as it is called  
in a second translation, "The Bondswoman's Son"

"In three rooms there live the parents with their  
seven children; occasionally the servant also shares the  
same quarters. The furniture consists chiefly of beds and  
cradles. ~~xxxxxx~~ One of the many ghastly ~~xxxxxxxx~~ memories  
from his childhood are the many deaths and funerals in his  
home. His ~~xxxxxx~~ brothers and sisters died young, ~~xxxxxx~~ the home  
~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ was always draped in ~~xxxxxx~~ and  
under the spell of mourning.

~~Strindberg showed his differentiation from his~~

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up bearing

He tells us of his wretched childhood and home, "my ~~living~~  
consisted of cuffings, scoldings and being coerced into  
obedience. ~~I soon found that the home is the hell of childhood~~  
~~and the hell of the woman's son~~ In "The Bond's Woman's Son" the married  
man, the husband, already appears in the ~~past~~ <sup>past</sup> which is later  
elaborated in "The Father"

He writes, "This is the fathers ~~task~~ thankless position  
~~task~~ in the family, to be everybodys breadwinner, everybodys  
enemy? <sup>but</sup> family, though art the home of all social vices... And the  
hell ~~of the~~ children.

The "Bonds Woman's Son is an unforgettable picture of  
the evolution of personal consciousness in the individual.



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Strindberg early showed his differentiation from the rest of the family, he ~~was~~ felt out of place at home and at school. Everywhere he found himself at war with the existing, he ~~felt~~ <sup>always</sup> everywhere in the way. This made him morbidly sensitive to the least criticism or harshness.

Once he was punished for something he had not committed, ~~he~~ <sup>after</sup> having taken some sweets which as a matter of fact was taken by the servant. Though he knew that she had committed the offense for which he was punished he would not betray her. The injustice left an indelible impression upon him.

He lost his mother when he was 13 years of age and his father a year later. This increased his isolation. To find relief for his yearning for affection and companionship he threw himself in religious studies. His parents had been very orthodox so he continued in the same faith during his adolescent years. At eighteen he entered the university, but he was so poor, he had to discontinue and seek to find a position as teacher in the public school, the same school he himself attended during his sad and lonely childhood. Later he took

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*4*

up the study of medicine supporting himself during the time as reporter, actor and many other odd occupations.

But medicine was not to be his profession, writing became his dominant urge and driving power. To be able to do that he lived on an island, did hard manual labour to earn enough to subsist on so that he could snatch a few free hours for his creative work.

*can be used until*

At that time Strindberg, ~~in~~ in palaces, churches, barracks and city streets, in which people sought to deceive and cheat each other in so called honest dealings, ~~as the~~ hated symbols of society whose foundation is based on social injustice and ~~hypocrisy~~ *hypocrisy*. He ~~felt~~ *felt* himself as one with the disinherited. He describes his outraged sense of justice when during the unveiling of the statue of King Carl ~~XII~~ *XII* a riot broke out in the streets of the city. money for the monument had been collected from the people, but the latter were excluded from the participation in the festivities. Young Strindberg was at the time a guest at a party of a friend of his—a physician. The commotion outside attracted the attention

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of the guests, someone present inquired what was the matter. The reply came from a professor: "It is the noise of the mob"

Intensely aroused Strindberg left the party and rushed into the streets to join "the mob". Of this incident Strindberg later wrote in one of his autobiographical sketches "The mob" The words rang in my ears, whilst I walked down the street. 'The Mob' They were my mothers school fellows, and even my own pupils; they were the dark background which made the light and comfort possible in the place I just left. I felt like a deserter, as if I was trying to work my way up at the expense of the "mob"

~~His entrance into the literary world was the signal for a series of attacks on the pillars of society.~~

"The Red Room" Strindberg's first novel, <sup>called</sup> ~~came~~ down upon his head the wrath and hatred of Swedish pillars of society. The work is the grimmest satire on the impenetrable dullness of the official, governmental marionettes, of religion, patriotism, marriage, parliament, of the press, charity and the uplift movements. *Strindberg's plays*

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Here 4 all work master 796  
The last sentence in the "Red Book" contains the following satirical psychologic char description, in the mouth of the scoffer, Borg, who declares matrimony to be an impossibility from the point of view of natural science:

"He ~~marx~~ laid down the proposition that the moment must come when every subject had been discussed, when each partner knew every thought and opinion of the other, and when absolute silence was bound to reign".

~~Pen came the~~ storm of indignation on the part of the purists broke loose when Strindberg's ~~marx~~ 12 short stories appeared under the title "Married". The conservative press insisted that the place for the author was the prison. The queen of Sweden expressed the opinion that the book was highly immoral and indecent, a menace to the land. Because of one passage, "The Reward of Virtue" Strindberg was indicted for blasphemy, but the court acquitted him.

What the book really represents is a description of the psychologic, social, and economic reason for the failure of marriage. ~~Virtue and abstinence so much praised~~

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11  
90  
With deep penetration and great artistry Strindberg describes the result of ~~our much-praised virtue~~ <sup>our morality</sup> of suppressing nature in youth, the victory which usually leads to shattered health and many tragedies. Strindberg called ~~our morality~~ a straight-jacket which tries to fetter nature and to paralyze the emotional life of men and women.

The first plays of Strindberg ~~were historic dramas~~ treated historic events of Sweden. But the indifference of the public to his works and the adverse criticism nearly impelled him to give up his dramatic ~~work~~ <sup>efforts</sup>. It took several years before he <sup>he</sup> gained confidence in his creative ability. During that time he worked as librarian for a mere pittance. ~~Strindberg studied~~ <sup>mastered</sup> the Chinese language in order to get the full value of Chinese poetry and letters as well as art. He then wrote a great geographic work about the <sup>close</sup> relationship between ~~the~~ Sweden and China in the 18th century. He also prepared a geographic map. <sup>drawn with</sup>

<sup>great sorrow</sup> He married at the age of 26th the former wife of Count Krangel.



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10.  
At the age of 26 Strindberg fell in love with  
the wife of Count Wrangel, she reciprocated his love and  
got a divorce. But the marriage with this lady was ~~not a~~  
~~very happy one~~, yet he wrote quite a lot during the few years  
of their married life. A very interesting historic work  
about the Swedish people, many short stories, and a book of  
~~analysis and synthesis~~ of the prevalent social and ethical cond  
itions under the title of "The New Kingdom". Finally he  
~~went back to drama writing, and legend writing.~~ The  
latter Strindberg loved passionately and understood better  
than ~~adults~~. But he ~~was~~ ~~very~~ ~~much~~ ~~more~~ ~~a~~ ~~man~~  
he went to Switzerland where he wrote his work  
"Laetrimony" which caused such a stir in his native land. It  
was really his own brilliant defense of the case which  
gained him an acquittal. But the failure of his ~~own marriage~~  
first marriage and the brutal attacks on him had a crushing  
effect. Strindberg however kept on working. He ~~created four~~  
He wrote four satires called a "True Utopia" which treated  
the ~~then awakened spirit of materialism~~. new spirit of  
materialism

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In 1886 he wrote the second part of "Marriage" which showed a considerable change in Strindberg's attitude towards life. He had already become ~~strongly individualistic and~~ ~~strongly antagonistic~~ very antagonistic to the woman's right movement. Shortly after he ~~created~~ wrote "The Father, Comrades Countess Julie, plays which gave him first rank among the dramatists."

The woman characters of Strindberg that gave him the name of woman hater appear in their most definite form in "The Father", "Countess Julia", "Comrades" and "Creditors". The female ~~character~~ <sup>figure</sup> is pictured in these plays with great finesse. She makes use of the man as a means to an end; she is false treacherous, exploits his ideas and talents, and feeds, spiderlike on his very life-blood, finally to cast him aside when developments become catastrophic.

Laura in "The Father" says to her husband, ~~she had driven him mad by deliberately instilling in him the~~ poison of doubt as to the fatherhood of his child. "Now you have fulfilled your function as an unfortunately necessary father and breadwinner; now you are not needed any longer, and you must go."

~~These dramas earned for Strindberg European~~ fame. His women stood ~~in~~ <sup>discussing</sup> out in strong relief and challenged passionate attitude for ~~or~~ against, when compared with the Nora Type of Ibsen. He called ~~the~~ <sup>her</sup> a blue stockinged slut that did not prevent ~~her~~ <sup>her</sup> from being a great actress.

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*12/13* Between 1887 and 1894 Strindberg wrote eight one act plays, five autobiographical novels under the title "The Son of a Servant" Some of them are ~~important~~ *because* ~~of the~~ brilliant analysis of the psychology of the child. His work "Confessions of a Fool" is really his own experience in his first marriage. As is also his play the "Link".

*Later Strindberg married again*  
Strindberg married again, an Austrian writer.

*See below*  
The union lasted four years and although it was not as painful as the first it did help to bring on a mental crisis in his life. He stopped writing and delved into science, chemistry physics ~~astronomy~~ *astronomy*. At the very height of his dramatic success in Germany and France when his plays were given before large audiences when he was proclaimed the new shining light on the dramatic firmament, Strindberg retired to an attic in Paris, sees no one, works day and night over his experiments. His frenzied thirst for knowledge gives him no peace, his hope to fathom the secrets of nature drive him on, but the elements ~~were~~ *are* against him, fire and sharp acids cause one disaster after another, he burns his hands, he has no means to pay his rent or buy food, ~~in~~ Finally both his hands being infected by blood poison and ~~being~~ *taken* in a state of utter collapse he is conveyed to the hospital St Louis.

For a long time prior to his physical and mental break-down Strindberg suffered of the persecution mania *a mania*. The Polish writer Bshibeshevsky who was a devoted friend

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of Strindbergs tried desperately to help him, but Strindberg developed an idea fixe that Bshibeschevsky wants to poison him <sup>to</sup> delude his friend he moved to an obscure place where no one could find him. <sup>But</sup> his man<sup>a</sup> grew, he begins to see in every misfortune an evil spirit that is persuing him and punishing him for his free thought ideas.

The most extraordinary thing about Strindberg was that after his recovery, he was able to describe minutely all he went through during his attack of insanity. ~~His~~ <sup>His</sup> Inferno, is perhaps the greatest work ever written by a man who has gone through a state of mental derangement and on his recovery had the creative genius to give an objective, almost impersonal ~~and~~ picture of all that had transpired in the period of mental ~~aberration~~. "The Inferno" has considerable similarity with some of the works of Edgar Allan Poe, but more penetrating.

in his work "The Blue Book" Strindberg ~~renounces~~ ~~his~~ ~~former~~ ~~free~~ ~~thought~~ ~~ideas~~ appears as the confirmed mystic renouncing his former free thought ideas and his belief in science. He became the deciple of Swedenborg the great Swedish mystic whose works exerted a profound influence on Strindberg.

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5  
In 1896 Strindberg again turned to the dramatic form creating one daring work after another. Altogether he left 58 plays, 10 Biographic ~~writes~~ <sup>sketches</sup>, 12 novels and numerous historic and geographic works. He also created an art theatre in Stockholm. Then came the third marriage, an actress this time, but that too was doomed to failure as Strindberg was utterly unfit for matrimonial life.

Until he was sixty years of age Strindberg remained an alien in his land. To his sixtieth birthday Sweden woke up to the greatness of her son and raised a national purse to secure him a modest living.

Strindberg though having changed his faith, never became an orthodox Christian, he resented being considered a Catholic as some of the critics described him to be, he insisted that if his new faith must be labeled it should be called Swedenborgian. But while as I said he changed from an extreme ~~atheist~~ <sup>ethicist</sup> to an extreme mystic he remained true in his feelings and devotion to the class ~~man~~ <sup>from which</sup> he sprang.



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6  
Before his death he gave strict orders that he is <sup>Will</sup>  
to be burried in the ground set aside in Stockholm for the  
poor and destitute, without ceremony, parade, flowers, or  
honors from those who <sup>in the hall</sup> has always fought. It was therefore  
most difficult to find Strindbergs grave when I ~~stata~~  
lived in Stockholm. Nobody knew where the great Strindbegr  
was laid at rest. After a painstaking search I found his  
grave, much neglected with an <sup>old</sup> broken ~~trans~~black cross  
on it. <sup>Very neglected and the</sup>  
<sup>Museum like the old man</sup> I had the same difficulty in finding the museum which  
I had been told contained Strindbegrs works and belongings.  
I finally found two small rooms in the National Museum ~~art~~  
under lock and key, opened only on request. They contain  
There I spent hours in deep contemplation of the mental  
and spiritual struggle of August Strindberg, one of the  
greatest creative geniuses of our age.

Wherever may have been the changes in this  
remarkable life, his religious changes in declining years, he has  
<sup>Strindberg</sup> given us much written during his heroic pilgrimage through life  
<sup>has given us wonderful works</sup>  
And he has made us realize that his personality can not be

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compressed in a simple definition. He was a veritable  
 Vulcano that could find no peace in the ordinary humdrum  
 or classification. He was like chaos from whom fiery comets  
 blaze forth, to be expelled in the twilight preceding the  
 birth of new worlds. In order to reach an approximation  
 of this strange soul one must follow Strindberg step by step  
 in his protean changes that demolished old ideas and ideals  
 to make room for new ones.

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Ein Brief zu Georg Brandes.

Der Staat ist der Fluch von dem Individuum. Jeder Staat hat erreicht nationale Kraft dadurch was er hat erreicht gesunken das Individuum in politische und geographische Formeln. Der Staat eine Vernichtung werden.

Ich will kein mal mit sein einverstanden mit dem Gedanken dass Freiheit meint nur politische Freiheiten, [wenn] ist ist nützlich zu haben die Stimme, das Recht zu bezahlen Steuer, aber für wen ist es nützlich? Für den Bürger, nicht für den Individuum. Es ist nicht to kein Verbindung zwischen dem Individuum und den Bürger, ~~xxxxxxx~~

Für mir Freiheit besteht in das ewigen Steben noch immer größere Freiheit. Menschen was sagen sie haben schon die Freiheit, haben sie als einen Körper, es ist der Kampf für und nicht die Erreichung von Freiheit was ist der ewige Geist der Revolution. Und in die Revolution will ich sein in die erste Reihen.

Das einzige Volk, Volk was ist bis jetzt frei geliebt von den verjochenden Gedanken von Staat ist das Jüdische Volk, es ist die nobilste ~~xxxxx~~ Volk von der Menschlichen

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Rasse. Schen wir wie es hat sich erhalten, isoliert, poetisch, geistig gross trotz aller barbarischen Verfolgung. Und das ist nur weil das Yiddische Volk ist mit geladen gewesen durch den Staat. Wenn die Yiddische Nation wolt geblieben in Palastine wolt es gewesen ruiniert wie alle andere Nationen durch den Process von Reconstruction. Warum behaupte ich das der Gedanke von Staat muss waren unterminiert, anstatt das muss man schaffen freiwillige gegenseitige Hilfe und Vereinigungen, dann weren wir haben den Anfang von wirkliche Freiheit.

Der Wechsel von die Forme von Regierungen ist nur a Kinderspiel, a Bissel mehr, a Bissel weinger. Der Staat hat seine Wurzel in Zie, Grossere Institutionen wie der Staat seinen untergegangen., und wellen wieder untergehen, Religionen wellen fallen. Weder der Begriff von Moral noch von der Kunst seinen ewig. Der Staat wed nit bleiben ewig.

Ideen angegriffen werden von die Liberrale far seine Dramen, die Komodie der Liebe, Brand, und andere. Darauf geschrieben zu Georg Brandes, was soll ich sagen wegen die sogenannte liberale Presse, sei reiden und schrieben von Freiheit des Gedanken und der Tat und

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seiner, doch die meisten Sklaven von der öffentlichen Meinung. Jeden Tag überzeuge ich mich das die Politische ist unmoralisch und die politische Parteien seien corrumpt. Ich will kein mal mit gehören zu a Partei. Bjornson sagt die Majorität ist alle mal gerecht, ich aber sag die Majorität ist keinmal mit gerecht. Ich mein die intelligente Minorität, die was geht voraus in jeder Bewegung, was hat noch Idealismus und Feuer. Ich behaupte, nur der Mensch ist gerecht von ist am stärksten verbunden mit der Zukunft.

A Brief zu Bjornson,

Ich bestreite nicht das die politische Trevelogierte haben mit alle mal gewist wie zu vermehren eigene Vorteile, oder zu kriegen mehr Rechte. Aber ich keen mit einsehen das das Individuum, or die ganze Nation hat damit etwas erreicht. Ich habe kein Glauben mit in die emancipation Kraft von politische Mittel, noch weniger hob ich Vertrauen zu dem guten Willen von die was haben die Staats Macht.

Zu Brandes.

Ihr schreibt dass Ihr hat keine Freunde im eigenen Land. Wenn a Künstler steht asue eng verbunden mit seine Werk.

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In 1885 ist Lincoln gestorben a Rede far ein Arbeiter-  
Organization. Ich seh das die viele Jahren von mein Anwesenheit  
 von mein Vaterland, habe gebracht verschiedene Reformen,  
 aber es fehlt noch viel zu tun. Wir wollen die  
 individuelle Freiheiten. Es ist noch viel zu tun. Aber  
 die Regierungen wollen das was man darf tun mit tun.  
 Nur Ihr Arbeiter hat die Kraft das recht zu tun, das  
 Elend in unser Leben, Elend mit von Geburt, von Reicht  
 oder sogar Talent, was ich nicht ist die Elend von Geist.  
 In die Revolutionen in Europa und Amerika ist es gut vor  
 seh ich die Recht von ~~Arbeit~~ die Arbeiter Klassen als rich-  
 tigsten Punkt. Und die Arbeiter und die Frauen wollen  
 kämpfen und bringen die Rechte. Far die Revolution well

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arbeiten mein ganzes Leben.

Einige Anekdoten von Ibsen, Paulsen und putzen die eigene Schich und onneien die eigen Knepp. Was Frau Ibsen hat gesagt.

Ibsen hat seine greisse Liebe im 60 Jahr, die schaffende Kunst ist greiser aber das Leben kann sein viel grosser und schöner.

Die Frau von Ibsen ist zu ihm gekommen wenn er hat geschrieben, dass Ibsen gesagt hat sei weit von sich, Ibsen, sein sollen sei nur kommen, ich will sei studieren.

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[Henrik Ibsen: A Biographical Sketch] / Emma Goldman. — 7 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.  
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March 1828 563  
Ibsen's Parents, rich  
lived living in dreary  
surroundings. House  
at the end of square  
which also held  
the Pillory, market  
place & Church.  
Parents went bankrupt  
when child was 8  
years old, moved to  
country. Then learned  
the hollowness, poverty  
involved.  
At 15 he went to a  
Druggist in Emsland

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2 564

Six years drudgery,  
 poverty, manual  
 isolation

His awakening  
 through the Revolutions  
 of 1848, which changed  
 his whole being  
 already in Calcutta  
 spent the social  
 wheel

---

Understand later  
 child and a young  
 young social idealist  
 Ibsen's relation  
 not him.

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1880 participated<sup>3</sup>  
in first political  
demonstration, in  
defense of free  
speech & press,  
story of the American  
Herron Hervey

1851, in contribution  
to Adelgaard's paper

Don't have a girl  
who threw bunch  
of violets in his  
face. Nothing came  
of it. <sup>1846</sup> Ben married

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4566  
 Susann Borsan  
 daughter of famous  
 Norwegian writer  
 Magdalene Borsan  
 Loves comedy  
 exposing the hypocrisy  
 of attitude of too  
 toward life and  
 grieved by engaged  
 re materials  
 Pastor Boedm  
 expounder of the  
 sanctity of marriage  
 yet slave driver

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567  
his wife & his broad  
of 8 children  
His terrific struggle  
final self exile  
to Italy. Poverty  
during the creation  
of Brand & later  
Deer Edynt.  
with the Young Man's  
League Ibsen  
began an open  
declaration war  
on all states which  
though less aggressive

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6 568  
in later years  
yet never ceased  
entirely given with  
disregard  
When We Dead  
Awaken  
at sixty a hidden  
love affair with  
a young girl  
met in Cassens as  
Emilie Baruch or  
the inspiration  
for Hilda in *The  
Master Builder*  
after the festivities  
to Susan's 70th birthday

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[Henrik Ibsen: A Biographical Sketch] / Emma Goldman. — 7 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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4 569  
suffered a stroke  
lost memory, called  
for the sun  
spelt his letter,  
I who was once  
a writer Dec  
Ibsen died 1906  
lived not greater  
known than a  
King, yet still  
misunderstood

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

860712026

[Henrik Ibsen's Poetic Vision in "When We Dead Awaken"] / Emma Goldman. — (fragment). — 11 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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*all*

All of Ibsen's works penetrated with revolutionary tendencies whose protagonists end tragically. The student of Ibsen is justified in asking why it must be so?

Georg Brandes in his illuminating studies of Ibsen gives the following reasons.

1) Society is steeped too deeply in the old to rise to the heights of new values.

2) Because the pleader of the truth is himself part of this society hence part of the injustice and faults he is attacking.

3) Because it is the destiny of beauty and truth to shine for a moment only like the meteor which becomes extinguished the moment it strikes the earth.

4) Because the poetic vision of Henrik Ibsen moved by the inner urge to portray life as he sees it. There is something inherent in Ibsen which impelled him to ~~conceive~~ conceive life and portray it as a gigantic but desperate struggle towards the good. There is something in his eyes which make him see black shadows. Something in his being warlike, rebellious, militant, sombre all that is reflected in Ibsen which overshadows his very love for light *and yet spreads light*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Henrik Ibsen's Poetic Vision in "When We Dead Awaken"] / Emma Goldman. — (fragment). — 11 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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When We Dead Awaken 742  
Close page 4, 5

Just as every living organism must shed, foreign

or dead elements so too the social organism must shed its

diseased bodies. For society can no more be immune

from the deadweight of its corpses than the individual

can survive the poisonous infection in his system.

All layers in society carry their corpses on their

backs. The individual as well as well as society

must free himself of the dead.

The sudden realization of the state of living

death represents the turning point in the lives of

Ibsen's characters. Falk in the Comedy of Love, Brand,

Lona Hessel and Dina Dorf in Pillars of Society,

Dr Stockman and the Lady from the Sea. The others

though they awakened had already been infected beyond

repair. Ekdahl, Rosmer, Rubeck and Irene.

Again it was Ibsen who stressed the need

of seeing in man the aim and not the means to an end.

Religion, The State and all their institutions see

in man merely the means to the glory of God in heaven and

on earth. Ibsen repudiates such a preposterous de

gradation and enslavement of man. No man himself

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2

*he*  
the aim, his highest development and achievement  
the most supreme effort of society. He insisted  
on that in every play but most forcibly in  
When We Dead Awaken.

Rubeck a great sculptor creates a marvelous  
work of art called Resurrection. Irene the woman who serves  
him as his model. ~~xxxxxxx~~ She was the means to his  
end. When he was through with her he cast her off. By  
that he killed the personality in her and in the  
exhaustive process of his artistic creation he also  
killed ~~the~~ his own personality.

*react*  
Rubeck used Irene to his highest zenith  
of art but he ignored what is beyond art, the highest  
in life. His art made Rubeck famous and rich, made him  
believe that power and wealth are the key to the mys-  
teries of life. But what ~~they~~ gave him was the means to  
purchase Maya the ~~primitive~~ *primitive*, wild, Maya who was too much  
the spirit of the earth to fit in the decadent atmosphere of  
Rubeck. That in return killed his creative power, he began  
to produce to order, not because of the inner urge. He

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because of, but in spite of the moralist's preaching. Seen from this angle,  
the play presents a triumph of nature over morality, rather than the reverse.  
.....

Page 380

## WHEN WE DEAD AWAKE

Professor Rubek, a Norwegian sculptor, has spent so many years in foreign parts that he feels a stranger in the land of his birth. Somewhat over four years ago he returned to visit his native country, and on that occasion he met Maia, a young girl in modest middle-class circumstances, and persuaded her to become his wife and live abroad with him. Her reluctance to marry a man well along in years was overcome partly by the thought of his social position and of his comfortable income, and partly by the appeal to her imagination of his glowing promises. For Maia the change meant a widening of her whole life's horizon, largely as a result of her contact with a more cultivated set of people than her associates at home.

During the first two years or so of married life, Rubek was an indefatigable

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worker. Maia saw him busy from morning to night, bent on completing the great group which he had named The Resurrection Day. When it finally left his studio, it was acclaimed as a masterpiece; it made the rounds of all the great museums of the world; it brought its creator international fame, and in the wake of it he acquired wealth on a lavish scale. He was now able to build a magnificent city mansion and to make the decorations and furnishings of his villa on Lake Taunitz reflect the last word of comfort and luxury. It was spacious enough, too, so that husband and wife need not always be getting in each other's way.

Since that time, however, Rubek has accomplished nothing to speak of. Only now and then he has tossed off a portrait bust for some plutocrat who could afford to pay the fabulous price which his art now commanded. For some time Maia has observed him becoming nervous and restless, and lately his condition has become so acute that he has begun to shun the sight of his fellow men.

The symptoms of his condition are quite plain to see. His mind is fagged, and his weariness takes the form of a cynicism which he makes no effort to disguise. He no longer thinks it worth while, he says, to work himself to death for the mob and the ~~mob~~ <sup>wealthy</sup>. He delights in telling Maia

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of the double-faced nature of his portrait busts, which amuses him the more as the public has entirely failed to detect the animal masks lurking behind the "striking likenesses" of his creation. He gets a cynical contentment out of the contemplation of his wealth and the security and independence it entails. In a calm and blasé manner he volunteers the fact that the glowing promises with which he lured Maia into marriage were nothing but a figure of speech which he had practiced with good effect on his schoolmates in bygone days.

. . . . .

## Page 382

After some hedging Rubek has come out with the frank admission that he is utterly weary of their common life, and that what he craves is more stimulating companionship. Maia has guessed from the first that his mind has been occupied with the strange Lady, and he admits it when challenged by her direct question. As he alludes to the fact that she had been his model, and that she had left him — vanished without a word — Maia interrupts him by asking point-blank: "Then you accepted me as a sort of makeshift, I suppose?" To which he replies rather brusquely;

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Something of the sort, to tell the truth, little Maia. For a year or  
a year and a half I had lived there lonely and brooding, and had put the  
last touch - the very last touch, to my work. "The Resurrection Day" went  
out over the world and brought me fame - and everything else that heart  
could desire. (With greater warmth.) But I no longer loved my own work.  
Men's laurels and incense nauseated me, till I could have rushed away in  
despair and hidden myself in the depths of the woods.

Then he continues, he took to making portrait busts to order, with  
animal faces behind the masks; but this was an inconsequential matter,  
compared to the new idea that had taken possession of his mind. "All the  
talk about the artist's vocation and the artist's mission, and so forth,  
began to strike me as being very empty, and hollow, and meaningless at  
bottom." He felt himself filled with a craving for a life in sunshine and  
beauty; he was tired of hanging about in a raw, damp hole, and wearing  
himself out in a perpetual struggle with lumps of clay and blocks of stone.  
"And then I had become rich enough to live in luxury and in indolent  
quivering sunshine," he muses. "I was able to build myself the villa on the  
lake and the palazzo in the capital, - and all the rest of it." "And last but

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not least, Maia chimes in, "you could afford to treat yourself to me, too."

And you gave me leave to share in all your treasures."

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When Irene entered into Rubek's life, he was still young and

poor. At that time he was sick with the desire to achieve the great work

of his life, which was to be a symbolical representation of the Resurrection

Day. In Irene he found the perfect incarnation of his idea, as he then con-

ceived it. He persuaded her to be his model, and in the course of some three

or four years, during which she was wholly devoted to his service, he created

the statue of a female figure that he felt at the time to be a flawless

expression of his lofty idea. Then, when his clay model seemed perfect and

~~he cast Irene aside~~  
complete, Irene <sup>or</sup> suddenly disappeared without a trace. Now that he has found

her again, he answers her inquiry as to what he has created in the interval,

by confessing that he has made no poems in marble since the day she left him;

he has only frittered away his life in modeling.

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3 749  
added to the radiant figure of ~~Irene~~ his Resurrection  
ugly, empty, vulgar ~~things~~ figures symbolizing  
the death of his own ideals, the grown emptiness  
in his own life. *the emptiness*

To escape from ~~it~~ he goes away from  
civilization far into the mountains and there meets  
Irene who is insane and in the charge of a nurse.  
During her clear moments she recognizes him whom  
she had given not only her radiant beauty to be  
set in cold marble, but all the intense passion  
and longing of her woman nature. When he had cast her  
aside, she threw herself into the depths of physical  
orgy, lost her mind in the process and now wondered  
about a wraith of her former self. She finds that  
Rubeck too is dead though in another form. They both  
~~awaken~~ awaken from their living death to life.  
Hand in hand they go to the height of the mountains  
to breathe the pure invigorating air. Both are hurried  
by an avalanche. Both had lost the capacity of life.  
Laya and Ulpian the deer hunter who have never fallen  
prey to our super culture, who have remained primitive  
instinctive rather than intellectual are alive and

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4 750  
follow their instincts without shame or fear.

Ibsen does not imply that only the physical aspect represents life. ~~From~~ <sup>From</sup> it, he seeks to bring about the blending of the sensual and the intellectual the creation of beauty and joy in creative work with the ~~expression~~ the most primitive life forces.

When We Dead Awaken is really Ibsen's repudiation of Art for Art sake, and the insistence that art has no justification except by ~~its~~ its unity to life a means to make life ever more radiant for the birth of the free spirit of ~~man and woman~~ man

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*Deser*

With Rubek he asks himself; Is not a life in sunshine and in beauty  
a hundred times better worth while than the eternal martyrdom of artistic  
endeavor? His sense of exhaustion and his futile yearning for the irretriev-  
able would supply the answer; and yet he realizes that the question is mean-  
ingless when applied to a nature such as his. He might live his life a  
thousand times over, and yet it would turn out each time to be the same; for  
"I was born to be an artist," he says with Rubek. "And do what I may, I shall  
never be anything else."

.....

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Page 20  
Ibsen wrote in a letter  
are of his contemporaries

'Everything that I have written has the closest possible connection

with what I have lived through, even if it has not been my own personal -

or actual - experience,' he writes in a letter to L. S. S. 'In every

poem or play I have aimed at my own spiritual emancipation and purification -

for a man shares the responsibility and the guilt of the society to which

he belongs.'

...

In the individual tragedies of many of his characters, we feel con-

centrated the tragedy of the whole of contemporary society. Ibsen

illuminates the petty events of the provincial Norwegian circles in such a

way as to give them a universal significance. He deepens the drama of local

society until it becomes the drama of Humanity. And the more realistic he is

in such cases the greater is the symbolical significance of his realism.

Take Hedda Gabler for  
instance.

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Hedda Gabler

The daughter of General  
Gabler grows up ~~with~~  
~~as a modern woman~~  
in a household of ~~her~~  
where she is taught  
to be and a being arti-  
ficial. She excels in  
dancing, various  
sports <sup>such as</sup> ~~manly~~ horse  
backing riding and  
shooting as be done

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<sup>11</sup>  
The daughter of a General  
Dag-Holdested is a  
mistress of

Abject slavery to convention, coupled with an acute sense of  
personal freedom; cowardice and courage; crass materialism alongside of  
a pathetic idealism; candor and dissimulation; — these and other traits are  
interwoven into the strange pattern of her character. Critics who have

She is, as a matter of  
fact the victim of the  
class which grants  
woman idle as his  
opportunities to be realized  
by a marriage.

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3

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convenience, nothing  
deep, not at all  
possible. As Susan  
Allan wrote, Hedda  
Gabler is one of  
the many young ladies  
one takes in to dinner.  
He needs her as  
idle, pleasant  
house.

There was only one  
exception which had  
the last element of

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stirring in her body: was more than shocked



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6  
648  
The freedom of Hedda's  
new surroundings is  
broken when in the  
second act Savary  
comes back to touch  
her to the Lessmann's  
with him is <sup>companion</sup> ~~companion~~  
a school girl ~~Chasse~~  
at Hedda. Already  
it is ~~school~~ <sup>school</sup> Hedda she  
~~engaged~~ <sup>engaged</sup> ~~Rea~~ <sup>Rea</sup> ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup> ~~Rea~~  
wonderful rain  
loose keep hands

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a very beautiful complexion  
now that Hedda's <sup>de</sup> kind  
~~and~~ that her influence  
has led Larkins away  
from his dissipated  
ways & that he has  
since written a  
great work her death  
at her & her <sup>up</sup> <sup>up</sup> <sup>up</sup>  
blaze & up into death  
rate & the <sup>up</sup> <sup>up</sup> <sup>up</sup>  
to see Larkins away  
from her <sup>up</sup> <sup>up</sup> <sup>up</sup>

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6  
650  
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No single relationship illuminates so many sides of Hedda's nature as her clandestine comradeship with Lovborg. The hardness, the incapacity for sympathetic expansion, the self-centeredness of her nature comes out in the glimpses that we get of this chapter of her past, and it reveals in addition her conventionality, her cowardice and a curious, unsubstantial idealism, manifested in a thin, pseudo-classic cult of beauty.

Hedda did not love Lovborg. She would have loved him had she been capable of either sympathy or genuine passion. As it was, the immediate basis of their comradeship was her curiosity about the forbidden side of life. Her veiled questions, prompted by a desire for thrills, but mistaken for sympathy by Lovborg, were designed to draw him out on the subject of his nightly dissipation, and in this she succeeded.

When there was danger of their friendship developing into something more serious, Hedda threatened Lovborg with her pistol and broke with him.

But, as she confesses now, the fact that she did not dare to shoot him was not her worst act of cowardice that evening. More cowardly, as the context compels us to infer, was her refusal to yield to his passion.

The contradiction, however, is more apparent than real. Her longing for the courage to do the unconventional thing and plunge into the life of dissipation is quite intelligible even in the absence of physical passion.

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The conflict leading to the catastrophe is in substance the contest of two women striving each to control the destiny of a man. Hedda's is the aggressive role, while Thea, lacking the wits to sense her opponent's wiles, is purely on the defensive, and Eilert's is the subordinate part of being the object of the contest. Three times the action rises to a peak, with Hedda scoring three successive triumphs over her rival; The first, gained in the open, when Lovborg goes to Brack's party despite Thea's pleading; the second, a clandestine victory, when Hedda burns the precious manuscript; the third, when Hedda exults in the news of Lovborg's suicide.

~~... the United States still is ...~~  
*Hedda tells Thea*  
"I want for once in my life to have power to mold a human destiny."

~~The wave of emotion takes its course, and arrived at its crest, she bursts~~  
into the hysterical confession: "Oh, if you could only understand how poor I am. And fate has made you so rich. ~~(Clasps her passionately in her arms.)~~  
I think I must burn your hair off, after all."

In this magnificent climax, the conclusion of Act II, we come close r to feeling an elemental contact with Hedda's nature than at any other point of the Drama. In her premature exultation; in her surrender to emotion; in her ~~passive~~ self-exposure; in her passionate craving for sympathy addressed to the very victim of her treachery; in the very frankness of her envy and h

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11 ~~11~~  
cruelty, there is something infinitely pathetic.  
.....

Page 264

"Lovborg has that strong personal vanity which loves the flashy phrase and the theatrical gesture. The disdainful way in which he speaks of his recent, widely discussed publication as not worth the bother of Tesman's reading, is a choice bit of posing. His claim that he deliberately put nothing into the book but what everybody would agree to, in order to pave the way for his personal message, is only his exaggerated way of saying that he has already outgrown the viewpoint he held when he wrote it.

~~The question as to the genuineness of his genius I regard as idle.~~ We

shall never know whether he was one of those rare original minds who fructify the thought of a whole age, or simply one of those flashing meteors that arrest attention because of the brilliancy of their fireworks. Neither his lack of self-control nor his ability to be inspired by the empty-headed Thers decides the case one way or another. It is one of life's ironies that Nature can avail herself of the most brainless woman, provided she can

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11

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master the rapt gaze of the intelligent listener, to draw out the finest

manifestations of masculine genius.

Looking on and  
content with the  
days, starts at the party  
at Brackes' guests  
to the cashed male  
Laurel as a lady  
at gay, where you  
a drunken state  
Laurel's pleasure  
does not as Hedda  
and doped with  
Laurel on his  
head but of a  
bullet in the abdomen

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The Mrs. ~~Robt~~ Lallen  
 and at Lallen's house  
 on the way to the back  
 had been rescued  
 by Lallen and  
 not yet in command  
~~and~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~received~~ <sup>received</sup> ~~had~~ <sup>had</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup>  
 by Hedda as the  
 watchful child of  
 the Lallen

In the 3rd act  
 when Hedda learns

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of the audience end  
of Gaby's war  
yet that the next  
that himself with  
her, not that she  
realizes the scandal  
that would be  
imminent, a person  
and whole life  
a failure, she shall  
herself, the only  
thing she was  
could do well

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Hedda is the inevitable  
result of our empty  
corrupt age especially  
in the sphere of ~~modern~~  
women continue  
to be parasites, except  
that Hedda had more  
vigour than most  
of the best sisters  
of her class

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[A Review of Henrik Ibsen "The Wild Duck"] / Emma Goldman. — (fragment). —  
12 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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## The Wild Duck

It was the utter density  
which met the gaze  
of social plays, Pillars  
of Society! At Dill's House  
"Ghosts" to the enemy  
An enemy of the people  
which created doubt  
in Ibsen whether  
the "many" as many as  
Nietzsche called the  
mentally sluggish can  
stand the truth. It  
is this doubt which  
underlies the Wilde

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2

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Duck. But in this  
work to a he ~~surveys~~  
comes to the effect  
of decidedly an inviran  
ment in manning  
character.

The personnel of the  
play consists of

Werle, a merchant, Gregers Werle his son.

Old Ekdahl the partner of Werle ruined through

Werle's ~~speculations~~ <sup>or calculations</sup> success ~~in life~~ <sup>and</sup> paid for

his speculations which made Werle rich with his

freedom. Hjalmar Ekdahl his son, an empty phrase

monger. He is a photographer by profession. But his

whole life is kept up by photographing other peoples

ideas and giving them out as his own. Gina his wife

formerly the maid of Mrs Werle who ~~has died~~ now is dead.

Hedwig their child, a beautiful creature of 14, idealistic

romantic and with passionate faith in the greatness of her

father. Mrs Berby old Werle's housekeeper whom he marries

telling a doctor ~~antiquarian~~ <sup>antiquarian</sup> and without

belief in anything.

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3

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The lack of love between  
his parents helped  
to <sup>young Werle's</sup> mark his character

the mother, whom Gregers resembled, was ugly to look upon. According to  
Gregers, Werle married her under the impression that she had money, and  
turned against her when he realized his mistake. There was never anything  
resembling family life in the Werle household. The mother drank to excess,  
and the father was a libertine.

That after seducing his  
wife's maid Elna  
he married her off to  
Hjalmar, the daughter of the  
owner of his partner  
who was sent to  
prison for old Gregers  
illegal business

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<sup>4</sup>  
transactions. Young  
Gruyer asked his  
father as his wealth  
as he felt had res-  
ponsible for his  
father's tragedy and  
death.

After some years away  
from home young  
Wendy returns and  
then discovers that  
that his school friend  
Hjalmar had been  
victimised by his  
unscrupulous father.

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4-

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In Heinrich Werkle  
secretly idealized Hjalmar  
seeing in him a  
an idealist who was  
going to revolutionize  
the world. In fact  
everybody can trace  
unmistakable reasons  
saw in Hjalmar a  
something out of the  
ordinary

~~The fact that Hjalmar was coddled by two maiden aunts, that he was~~  
~~idolized at school and at college, is an interesting side light on his~~

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6

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Hyalman Goodahl was  
not unlike Synt. He  
too was egotistic, self  
centered, always going  
to do great things, but  
never getting anywhere,  
and meanwhile living  
on the dregs of the  
air and the  
subliminal air of the  
earth of humanity whose  
deeds he is.

Old Goodahl is a  
financial idiot and  
imbecile.

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860712024

[A Review of Henrik Ibsen "The Wild Duck"] / Emma Goldman. — (fragment). —  
12 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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725

8  
The lame wild duck  
nest to see passengers  
have the sea father  
in Hedwigs greatest  
treasure. She is a  
saturn child much  
left to her self. Her in-  
discriminate reading  
of romantic slacks and  
her waking dreams  
of the allegorical the  
mass require the <sup>child</sup> figure  
in dramatic literature  
into this masquerade  
comes the overnight

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1  
young Werle determined  
to rescue his friend  
from the life his marriage  
represents. He is determined  
to open his eyes of Hjalmar  
to the fact that his wife  
Gina has had been  
his father's mistress.

But all he succeeds in  
doing is to turn Hjalmar  
from Hedwig, whom he  
now suspects of being  
his illegitimate child of  
old Werle. Hedwig who  
has deep tragedy on her

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10

727

Her father appears and  
 makes republican ~~to~~  
 herself, is induced, they  
 do not make the lush  
 lady - a sacred  
 and highest measure  
 the duck, as a proof  
 by her father, of her  
 love. She does go  
 madly, but instead  
 she kills her

Gregers' father is  
 Quick that he is, he tries to apply truth externally, incapable of

realising that the truth Ibsen postulated must be a leaven pervading a man's

whole existence. Of course, his experiment fails; but to make its failure

the more grotesquely humiliating Hjalmar has to make the mortifying observ-

ation that the marriage which Gregers' detested father is about to enter

with his new house-keeper Mrs. Solty

corresponds to his formula of the true marriage, literally applied.-

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+

//

728

sufficiently obvious. Those dwellers of the garret, each cherishing his distinct illusion, reflect the need of the average man for a life-lie, an ideal, with which to paint over the grim face of reality. Rob them of their illusions, and their happiness is gone, either for good, or until their ingenuity develops some new make-believe to stay their despair. Gregers' bungling anticipates

*The meaning of the wild duck*

*old is expressed by*

Wesle is the first to employ this symbolism in alluding to the fate of Old Hjal. "There are people in the world," he tells Gregers, "who dive to the bottom the moment they get a couple of slugs in their body, and never come to the surface again." In his death the figure is perfectly natural.

*But the real meaning of the Wild Duck as a symbol, is a man caught in our social swamp, a man whose imagination is being broken, a wild captive*

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13

729

by the ~~same~~ same dream  
of life.

Whatever may have  
been the mood which  
gave birth in The Wild  
Duck, it was not  
for long. Ibsen  
soon emphasized

that falsehood is after all a sign of weakness, of a weak  
will to life. Those who are unable to face life take  
refuge in deception. Those who are strong, whose will  
to life and freedom is powerful whose inner quality and  
self respect do not depend on external props can face  
the truth and strive for it"

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~~Still~~ He insists that deception does not  
apply so much to our effort to deceive others as it  
does to self deception. At no time do we lie to others  
or deceive them as we do ourselves. At no time do we  
play our part as when we are alone with ourselves. No  
truth is so difficult to achieve as the truth to oneself.  
And yet it is the only truth deserving of the term.

~~No day later~~  
The Gregers Werle symbolises the dog who brought

rescued the Duck from the swamp, they go forrting out  
that they do not know that one might succeed in  
rescuing the wild ducks from the swamp but once their  
wings have lost capacity for flight they will never again  
be able to strive towards the heights. For as Ibsen points o  
out somewhere in Peer Gynt, "some people are like ~~strings~~  
~~xxxxxxx~~ the strings of a fiddle you can replace them by

new ones, others again are like a clean bed once they

~~crack you can not use it~~

cracked you can  
never again replace  
them clean sand.

clean sand

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*1 Master Builder*

665

In one of Ibsen's early poems printed in 1855

Ibsen wrote

"I remember as clearly as if it had been to day, the evening when ~~my~~ the paper I saw my first poem in print. There I sat in my den, and with long drawn puffs, I smoked and I dreamed in blissful self complacency.

I will build a cloud castle. It shall shine all over the North. It shall have two wings, one little and one great. The great wing shall shelter a deathless poet. The little wing shall serve as a young girl's bower.

The plan seemed to me nobly harmonious but as time went on it fell into confusion. When the Master grew reasonable the castle turned utterly crazy. The great wing ~~the~~ became too little, and the little wing fell into ~~ruin~~ ruin." Thirty five years later Ibsen wrote the Master Builder.

*chance*  
Solnes grew up in a very devout and pious home. When he learned to build he built churches with high spires. Then he married and moved into ~~his~~ the old depressing home of his wife's parents. He hated the place and hoped it would burn down so he could build a real home where father and mother and a brood of children could live together and be happy. The idea fairly haunted him, every time he'd look at the crack in the ~~wall~~ *chimney* he wished with all his might that the fire would start there and lay the house in ashes when everybody would be out of the hated place.

*chance*  
One night fire broke out and ~~not~~ burned the old house to the ground. But the shock effected his wife who was nursing her two children and they both developed fever and died.

*Solnes*  
Solnes from that time became a successful builder of homes for people, his fame grew rapidly. And yet he ~~was~~ not happy for he suffered from the idea fix that he owes his success to the death of his children and the effect the fire had on the wife who could bear no more children. Solnes tried to drown this restlessness in his soul by striving every nerve towards success. In the process he ruined old Brovik who was his son.

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666

~~1~~ 2.

employer and whom he succeeded in displacing. And  
xxxxxx

Solness was not really a creative artist, he  
knew his own limitation hence he was mortally affraid  
of the rising generation of artists, among them  
Ragnar Brovik a gifted architect whom Solnes feared  
more than anyone else. He would therefore not let  
him become independent, strike out for himself. In  
stead he got Kaya Fosli who was engaged to Brovik  
into the office, and there made her believe he cared  
for her. Kaya became fascinated by Solnes, became  
indeed his slave.

Thus xxxxxx Solnes rose from success to  
success not through his own efforts but through a  
an accident and through his stranglehold on the  
people who worked for him. He went on building homes  
among them his own which he thought will atone to  
Aline for the loss of her old home and her children.

For Solnes implicitly believed that Aline's enstrangement fro  
from him and her growing melancholia was due to the loss  
of her children.

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5

That and the dread of being squeezed out by the young generation became a mad obsession of Solnes.

The young generation does knock at the door, but it is in the form of a young radiant girl, Hilda Wangel. She came to claim her cast which Solnes ten years before the play opens had promised to her.

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It happened when Hilda, a high-strung, excitable youngster, was passing through the critical period of adolescence. Sex had not yet come to a conscious awakening within her, but its urge had begun to make itself

felt dimly by strange body sensations and thrills that convey a shock and yet carry an undertone of pleasure arousing a vague wish for their

repetition. These stirrings of sex, as is well known, frequently take the form of dreams of falling, and while most people speak of them as conveying

only sensations of terror, others are so distinctly aware of the peculiar element of pleasure blended with the shock, as to welcome such dreams and

even to cultivate them. ~~Now~~ During the whole period of adolescence there is ever present the danger of the pleasure coupled with sensations of

sexual origin becoming so closely bound up in the conscious mind with

irrelevant processes, as to divert the whole development of sex life from its normal course.

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Solnes had come to his town to celebrate  
the opening of the new church Solnes had build. He had gone  
to the high steeple to place a wreath there. All the children  
were dressed in their finest among them Hilda who was  
then 13 years of age. She more than any other child  
was carried away by the fascination and excitement of  
seeing the Master Builder on the dizzy height with the  
wreath in his hands. And in her overwrought state she  
even heard music in the air. Then when Solnes came to  
her father's house and he found the little charming girl  
alone he bent back her head and kissed her passionately  
on the neck several times and then said, in 10 years I will  
come back and build you a castle and you shall be my  
princess.

All this Hilda tells Solnes who had of course

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6 669  
forgotten the whole episode. Not so Hilda who waited and waited and when the Masterbuilder did not come she went to him to demand her castle.

Gradually Solnes falls under the charm ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ and away of Hilda, to her he tells all that had harassed his soul since the fire and the loss of his children, his concern in Aline, every hidden secret he had never dared confess to anyone, even his dread of the young generation. Under her sway too and inspired by her youth and reckless spirit he consents to go up to the spire he had built on his new home and to lay the wreath so Hilda can once more see her Master Builder high in the air, free and unafraid.

But Solnes had become reasonable, his capacity of flight had been lost in building homes with flat roofs which no one enjoyed and there was no happiness. Even his own home which he built for his wife was never to the happiness, for he and Aline had grown apart. She was rooted in the old, no home like fathers home could like her happy. Her worry was not the loss of her children.

*Children*

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She was not one of the things of life therefore  
incapable of love or any thing. That she could not  
leave her children for the sake with God as she tells Hilda  
Hilda and Gods will must be done. She was pining for  
her nine wonderful dolls the symbol of her own  
arrested development.

Yes, Solnes had lost the capacity to stand  
on dizzy heights and there to speak to God as he  
did when he placed the wreath on the <sup>tree</sup> ~~spire~~ in Hildas  
town. There he could defy God and say, "listen to me  
you mighty builder, you in your kingdom and I in mine  
I will build homes for people where they can be  
happy I will build no more to your glory. So when he rises  
once more to the heights inspired by Hilda and she  
in her exaltations waves to him and cries out his  
triumph Solnes loses his balance and dashes down to  
his death.

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671

In no play has Ibsen used so many <sup>MC</sup> symbols to convey simple truths as in the Master Builder. He ~~beings~~ with the crane in the chimney through which Solnes wished ~~to~~ to get his release from the old, decadent traditional home of his wife and her ancestors. The crane is nothing else than the narrow difficult path ~~of~~ through which he would have to work his way towards selfrealization. The fire is the symbol for the ~~fire~~ travail and suffering he would have to pass to achieve his aim.

And what was his aim, first and foremost to reach great creative heights, to build castles in the air to be raised ~~her~~ on the wings of his idealism. ~~But~~ sooner was the path free than Solnes ~~could~~ really creative artist. ~~His~~ The price one pays for such heights is often bitter and few can pay it.

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Solnes could not pay it, he became ~~oppressed~~ <sup>all</sup> by the price and instead of building castles <sup>all</sup> to shine ~~alone~~.

<sup>all</sup> the North he began to build stifling homes, limited homes for fathers and mothers and broods of children, cramping homes which no one really enjoys and which gradually enslaves them all.

Solnes fear of the young generation is the symbol for the inherent conservatism of man. Nearly all idealists of yesterday became the reactionaries of tomorrow. For they strive for freedom so that they may have it and keep it as a bloodless lifeless thing. ~~Free~~ Freethinkers, radicals, socialists, artists in their youth nothing is too radical and free. But no sooner have their ideal been accepted, or partially realized, then they become violent opponents <sup>falling in</sup> of the generation preceding them, the academy, the home, the state, the church all have been young and daring in their time but they have existed so long they are reeking with and decaying with age ~~and~~ they become in Mrs Alving's words so pitifully afraid of the light. So too Solnes. Hilda on the other hand is the young generation.

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daring, exalted, struggling towards the light. The  
you not having yet paid the price of achievement  
can not stop to question, for when you stop you can never  
break through the barriers and the cracks. The young are  
relentless in their march, but they are the ever  
becoming ever renewing element in life and the social  
struggle. Their idealism and the awakening of their  
spring which is after all the greatest element for  
life, I mean the awakening of their sex gives them  
the power of abandon, of daring, of the capacity to  
go with their heads through the wall and to climb the  
heights at any cost. The young generation alone  
can pave the way for the new in life, therefore Ibsen  
insists that we must open the doors wide when the young  
are knocking at the door, through the young spirit our own  
becomes revived.

~~xx Speak of Allen and the other day~~

The same in a measure holds true of marriage. No one with brains goes on believing that it is made in heaven, or should be made on earth by anyone outside of those immediately concerned, but they go through with the process in the same spirit as one takes out a passport or secures a visa to obtain breathing space and to protect the privacy of their personality.

Ibsen believed in the need  
of a vast conscience for  
those who want to do great things  
but the religion which teaches  
life as a sin is a curse

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674

and which has replaced  
genuineness by duty  
has emasculated the  
human race.

Aline is used by  
duty. When she makes  
Hilda comfortable in  
her house it is not  
the cause of warm gas  
fulsome light and  
duty, but cold, blood  
freezing. So true  
her life must be ruled  
by hand by duty and not  
by love

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675

When Almer's grief over  
the loss of her children  
was overpowered by her  
sense of duty to God  
God's will was done  
~~Her lamentation over~~  
~~the loss of her~~ none  
dolls, lost in the  
symbolize the arrested  
development of her  
Her infantile stage  
which finds pleasure  
in the little playful

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*Cramps of Life*

~~I rather think they symbolize the little things of~~  
~~life~~ the trifles that have until very recently absorbed  
the minds and hearts of <sup>most</sup> ~~people~~ <sup>people at large</sup> and that make up the  
existence of ~~most people~~. Yet how are human beings to  
grow and expand unless they get away from the little  
things which make them little. It is only by our efforts  
to do big things, to have big and beautiful interests  
that our life becomes big and our capacity for ~~work~~  
increases. So we must look to the Hildas ~~farx~~ and  
their insistence for ~~action~~ in the air for a broader  
and bigger life never to be ~~again~~.

*Do we use the symbols  
of duty so much  
carelessly and  
and*

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680

John Gabriel Borkman  
is like the Counsel  
Bernie in the Puller  
of Society. He too  
hates his law firm  
Gill, for the money  
of his sister he does  
not have

He too builds up his  
house of cards by  
fraudulent occupations  
But he is less fortunate

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2.  
Ben Bernick because  
he is caught in the  
messes of the law  
as is made to pay  
more means of his  
mismanagement, and  
so call astracism  
and Borkman does  
not take the kind  
a deviation and sustain  
since Bernick had  
in the women's  
dang him



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602

8  
Sunhild, Borkman,  
wife ~~was~~ killed ~~not~~  
a letter ~~to~~ ~~against~~ ~~for~~  
her husband ~~for~~  
having failed and  
disgraced her, and  
made an equally destruc-  
tive ~~for~~ ~~her~~ ~~self~~  
ella the cause she  
knew that Borkman.  
never ceased to love  
ella. And that it

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was <sup>4</sup>Gila who helped  
to save Borkman  
from complete mental  
collapse, after the  
catastrophe had  
smelt over them

Now her father has  
become more violent  
because of the struggle  
between the 2 women  
the son, and  
the daughter and  
Borkman.

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5 604  
- Ella, fascinated in  
her love, saw the man  
now centered all  
her intensity on the  
son. at least her  
mother instinct of  
craving shall find  
expression since  
her woman craving  
was never stilled  
While the silent struggle  
for possession of

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605  
6.  
The calling of the young  
man in prison, and  
in the last of the  
house. Borkman  
after his release from  
prison lives in  
the other part, keeping  
tracing it up  
to down, his father  
Borkman like a man  
in the cage. Borkman  
endless, when his  
misadventures and

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gradually broadening  
himself into the abyss  
that he still is, destined  
to bring to light  
the hidden truth  
in his misperception.  
He goes himself to witness  
that his glass he stayed  
at the scene of individual  
madness, a way the  
price of his super  
iority, by seeing himself  
again, sympathetic attitude  
with base beneath



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him. He had dreamed  
of being a benefactor  
to humanity, of in-  
creasing the possibilities  
of material happiness  
a thousand fold by  
arnessing the forces  
of nature as man  
the whole delicate  
machinery interlock  
as one gigantic mecha-  
nism to be controlled  
by his super brain

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9

688

This self delusory  
his not intoxication  
As Borkman keeps  
up, while in prison  
at the light means  
in his own prison  
which had become  
his cage

In the end his  
mind gives way totally  
he rushes out into  
the day night followed  
by the eagerly told

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10 689  
who is trying to  
permanently to save him  
from himself.  
His eyes are like  
quartz as, he sleeps  
he hangs in what  
he calls for vast,  
his mind, inexhaustible  
"Kingdom". Borkman  
does call dead night  
the staged scenes  
clashing hands and

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690  
 11  
 Air dead body and  
 with all their struggle  
 can passess can  
 an end. Law Edall  
 the son of Barbman  
 goes Air: May, as  
 all young people  
 must, he callan  
 the young widow  
Willay who can give  
 him light as at end  
 telegraph, Law his  
 story, Edall home

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691

In B John Gabriel  
Borkman, as in  
deed in all his  
dramatic poems  
Ibsen shows that  
wealth & power  
are destructive elements  
as are invariably  
derived at the expense  
of the best in  
man. I added  
to this price man



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692  
denys love sy des  
is cendancy to wealth  
and power he  
betrays the richest  
of duties, he  
denys life itself  
These comes back  
to that theme  
the last time in  
an epilogue  
When We Dead  
Awaken

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14

693

• Ibsens erste Liebe  
is geweest a young  
Meddel was dat een  
gewaarden a hauguel  
Blumen in dem  
Papier. Hier is  
Vater, a keechen Burge  
dat van dem Betty  
Ibsen nu geweest  
wissen. Is also  
der van ge, nu ge  
waren. Ibsen is  
nu gestorven van  
a gebroedene man

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186  
634  
Ich hat vergessen seine  
erste Liebe, in die er  
habe verliebt, er hat  
gesprochen, ein Name  
noch a andere  
welche es haben sich  
beabsichtigt mit der  
weysenden Legenden  
u. Dagen. Gewiss  
kennen sich diese  
Arbeiten mit vergleichen  
mit seine spätere  
gröÙe Werke. Aber der  
was mit darstellen

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19  
die Entwicklung  
von Ibsen mit massen  
studieren die erste  
Wecke

695  
In 1856 hat Ibsen  
Chassene gehabt mit  
Suzanna Massen die  
Hoch Tochter von  
a grasse Norwegische  
Schriftstellerin, Magde  
Massen. A Jahr  
später ist er geworden  
Theater Director in  
Christiana. Dorten

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20

656

• gelitten viel Kert in  
gemacht a schweren  
Kampf gegen die alte  
Macht anen aber trotz  
is er gewesen bedauernd  
durch sein Stuege  
Die Frau Freuden  
in welche er hat be-  
handelt die verschiedene  
Characteren von  
Byronian in sich  
Die bitterste Zeit  
von sein Kampf in  
seiner Entdeckung

370



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21  
697  
in gemessen zwischen  
54 u 64. In der Zeit  
in diesen Jahren  
den Varnichten von  
jede Güte, jede  
Zweimal, jede  
Beschreibung von  
Kavinsalen Scherz  
Sein erstes soziales  
Werk Die Komödie  
der Liebe hat verwirklicht  
auf die norwegische Ge-  
sellschaft wie a Komödie  
In dem Stück zeigt

371

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22

650

in ut wie soeben, kleine  
Liebe zwischen jungen  
Menschen nicht mätchen  
hört in paralyseert  
durch dem was die  
zwei Menschen warten  
haben lang bis  
bei solchen die Mittel  
zu deuten. A wandeln  
komische Signa in  
Pastor Rauman mit  
4 Kinder in a vassolant  
Draai was mede  
neid eeluy van die Keeluy

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23  
nicht man der Liebe  
in 6/10

699

Die deutsche hat die  
Baugetriebe, Wärmegeschichte  
Geschichte, Ibsen  
Kein hat mit vorgehen  
Das Drama hat man  
an, kein Bühne mit  
aufgeführt, in es walt  
sagen mit geworden  
gedruckt man der  
Wärmegeschichte, Schriftsteller  
Ibsen, Lie walt  
das mit aus gegeben  
6 hat Ibsen

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2d

700

denkbar gegeben 3.5 Zm  
Pfund. Mit die Geld  
in diesen weg von  
dem Land was hat  
etwa zwei wenig  
ausstehen.

Mit die half von  
Byzanzan is es ge  
lungen zu kriegen  
a Stipendium von  
der Regierung von  
26 Pfund. Auch weg  
nach Italien war, es  
hat gefunden a bessere

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25 701  
Rud in Dueden  
Die Warmkeit und  
Pracht van Stalien  
noch dem Ratten gegu-  
samen Norden dat  
weg geschnalzen die  
Vandierung van Ossen  
May.

In Arica Stalien  
dat er gehalten sein  
machlicher Weste Brand  
Dan in er schmecken  
Kraut geworden die  
nach Grund hat men  
hald weggesessen in

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26

702

Die Olesen's seinen  
gehobenen, Mittels und  
hat gehabt kein Geld  
für Medizin und  
fast Marken. Die Frau  
gemusst gehen zu  
dem Danjohden Land  
in Rome lehen Geld  
Noch a schweren von  
zweckten Kampf haben  
Dieinde ehm Watschaft  
dem Stipendium in  
welche die Regierung  
pflegt gehen für Polen  
Olesen hat dan gekent

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24

703

kommen in die Berg  
und man er is geboren  
a hussle stark  
in er jucken noch  
Kame, mit er hat  
schneiden Pyre Bleet

In 1866 is er away  
noch Deutschland  
in dat darten geschieden  
den Band der Gayen  
a leidenshaftlicher  
Angriff auf die damalige  
Liberale Partei und  
die grasse Massen

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28

704

Dieses Stück ist ge  
wesen verdammt, dass  
die öffentliche Meinung  
in Norwegen. Der grösste  
Schlag hat Olesonen  
genommen das was sein  
Freund Byrnsen hat  
angenommen die Haupt  
Figuren in dem Stück  
auf sich. Er und Oleson  
samen auseinander  
gegangen in Feindschaft  
welch hat gedauert  
11 Jahre

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29

705

Noch sein Stück Pansen  
in Ballen welche hat  
ihm gedauert 4 Jahre  
hat er angelassen  
seine soziale Stücke  
Stützen der Gesellschaft  
Puppen sein, Bspen  
in Volksfeind in alle  
dabei, arunter gerissen  
die Maske von dem  
falschen Janem der  
Gesellschaft und hat  
auf gemessen wie Kramp  
und verkauft es seinen

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30 706  
die stetige Sinnlichkeit  
die Moral, der Staat,  
die Erde.

Noch dem pflegt Ibsen  
schweigen. Dann  
alle zwei Jahre  
mit jeder es er ge  
waren mehr vortritt  
mehr allein in der  
menschliche Leben ist  
Schweigen

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31  
Mit 60 Jahren Ibsen  
entweckt a flamme  
Liebe für a junge  
Maidel es wie Borkman  
die in später gewesen  
sein Model für Borkman  
in dem Borkman  
Salmon.

Es hat sich entweckt  
a interessante Roman  
Tendence  
Quote

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! 32 700  
Ibsen erreicht Welt  
Ruhm hat, man ihm  
unmerkend in sein  
eigenes Land. Er  
ist zurück gekommen  
in gewisser Vargheit  
von die Jugend  
Bei sein 70ten Geburt  
tag gekommen. Der  
traten von der ganzen  
Welt um ihm die  
gehen Geschenke zu  
samen. Die Anstrengung

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1 33 700  
gemessen zu viel. Noch  
die besten Seiten hat  
Thoren gehabt a Ohlay  
anfall und hat verloren  
das Gedächtniss dem  
Gedächtniss

Wie Oswald in die  
Gespenster hat züht  
er setzen für dem  
Leuten in suchen  
die Sun. zu a Freund  
was is ihm gekommen  
besuchen hat er

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34 710  
gesagt Du schst wa,  
ich tue, ich lernen  
Buddistiken, ich was  
hin ammal gemessen  
a grassen Tanneken  
Ihren gestanden  
1906 hatnaucht van  
den ganzen Welt  
als grassen Kunstler  
Leder u. Rehd

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*Ibsen*

530

Dayward

*On a letter to Bjornson  
Ibsen wrote about his struggle  
during the creation of Brand*

About my present position, waiting, worn out with anxiety and suspense, looking forward to the appearance of my book and the possibility of producing strife and attacks of all sorts..... Last summer when I was writing my drama I was in spite of all that harassed me, indescribably happy. I felt the exaltation of a Crusader and I don't know anything I should not have done for it, anything I should have lacked courage to face, but there is nothing so enervating and exhausting as this hopeless waiting. But I will and shall have a victory some day

*Demagogue of Ibsen*

That Brand is a clergyman is really immaterial, the demand "all or nothing" is made in all domains of life—in love, in art, etc. Brand is myself in my best moments, just as certainly did I bring to light many qualities of Peer Gynt and Stensgaard. During the time I was writing Brand I had on my table a glass with a scorpion in it. From time to time the little animal was ill. Then I used to give it a piece of soft fruit, upon which it fell ferociously and emptied its poison into it—after which it was well again. Does not <sup>some</sup> something like that happen to us poets? *L*

385



1

531

And I should tell us that  
"in Brand Ibsen fused  
the intellectual atheism  
of Brannings and the prophetic  
love of Carlyle." Ibsen  
did more. He gave us Brand  
and Peer Gynt 2 great  
philosophic plays, the  
richest folk tale, deepest  
in meaning - his deepest  
intentions.

In Brand Ibsen  
begins to treat the element  
of necessity as the effect of  
a ~~condition~~ <sup>unavoidable</sup> ~~condition~~ especially  
does he dwell on the effect  
on the child of conflict  
in the home as lack of

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532

love <sup>between</sup> ~~among~~ the parents  
every subsequent play  
contained this leit-motif  
but it began in Brand  
and gives us the key  
to his character.

Brand's parents hated  
each other with a deadly  
hatred. Both were dark,  
stern, and domineering.  
When Brand's father died  
he was eight years, big  
strong, nervous, shy.  
Before his father's death  
had time to grow calm.  
He had made the  
witness of a ghastly

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533

4  
scene. The mother ~~always~~  
~~greedy~~ dashed into the  
death chamber and  
rummaged and with  
her ~~long~~ greedy fingers  
digs into the  
bedding for the hidden  
treasures of her husband.  
The scene was so over-  
whelming in its horror  
that it never left the child  
Brand and went on to  
show him a way into  
his manhood. He saw  
that time of Brand  
watched worldly goods  
and possessions as  
an evil. It helped to

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534

<sup>4</sup>  
~~alienate~~ <sup>alien</sup> him from life  
and his fellow man.

after years of absence  
from his native town  
Brand returns to seepe  
the spirit - to work for  
a new religious ideal  
but will not consent  
in his service to God  
and lack of service  
to man. He refuses to  
compromise with the devil.  
He will not give touch  
his mother's gold given  
from the yoke and  
the destitute. He comes  
to plead with him

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to prepare himself for  
his discharge that will  
be his after her death  
He is to perpetuate the  
family name and  
traditions. But it is  
then that Brand tells  
her that he can give  
his soul her lust for  
happy days made. He  
will have no more  
work her unless she  
returns her wealth to  
those whom she has  
ruined

Now well he goes to his  
maker when her last

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536

4  
Brand has fame. He  
demands all we make  
than God. His mother  
dies without communion  
He will give up  
as much as man  
judge, the angel of heaven  
to let him slip by. By  
leave the judgement  
of God. But they have  
been made.  
Brand is called a  
unrelenting. But the  
same Brand would not  
not help to God  
God.

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of 537  
But the same rigid unrelenting Brand faces the dangers  
of the storm and goes across the raging fjord to bring  
comfort and solace to the poor man who in his poverty and  
misery had slain his own child.

Again and again Brand shows that under his  
stern exterior there is a deep loving and feeling soul.  
But he learned at an early age that the idealist can not be  
swayed by fear or material things that it is the half

must steel his will  
if he is to stand out  
against the, unslayable  
of all that is false and  
dishonest in the world

First of all, we discover in Brand the great  
typical moralist endowed with  
a tremendous will which endeavours to assert itself, according to his moral  
principles.

It is Will alone that matters,  
Will alone that mars or makes,  
Will that no distraction scatters,  
And that no resistance breaks.

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538

9

That is his motto. And with this will 'that no resistance breaks' he declares war on all that is 'human too human,' ~~war~~ on average man, on average virtue, on average sin, on all that is light-heart, faint-heart, and wild-heart,' thus protesting against his whole sick age. He sees his mission in nothing less than the re-fashioning of man and earth.

It is our age whose pining flesh  
Craves burial at these hands of mine.'

*He*  
~~And, in so far as he blames and whips all the spiritual pettiness,~~

shallowness, and cowardice of his age, ~~he is great and magnificent.~~ With

his unswerving, uncompromising 'all or nothing' he stands among his weak

*a grand and magnificent figure*  
and will-less fellow-creatures ~~by a Titan~~ among pygmies. The only thing

he sees before him is his ~~individual~~ 'call,' the great moral mission he

has to fulfil. But the more he is absorbed by this task, the more ~~it~~

narrow and cruel becomes his will to everything that does not fully

coincide with it.

.....

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10

539

For that, mission, Brand  
gives all without a moment's  
hesitation.  
His child is dangerously  
ill. Only a change of climate  
can save its life. But  
Brand has no means  
to send him away and  
his mission demands  
that he remain at his  
post. His child dies.  
His beloved wife Agnes  
soon follows. Her child  
Brand is all but broken  
but his will impels  
him onward to love  
and work for his  
ideal.

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11

540

Brand fights desperately  
against the corruption  
confronting him everywhere.  
The Mayor, a sleek and  
stingy politician. Finding  
that the command is  
carried away by Brand's  
ideal, by the very  
cause of good to be  
built he falls on his  
at the same time insidiously  
undermining Brand's  
position. He knows  
the nature of the enemy  
a school of deepening  
is no small feat

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12. 541

He invents the story  
to take the men away  
Why not? a lie? any  
method is justified to  
as a means to an end  
The end was the authority  
of the Mayor over the  
community & the urgent  
need to get rid of Brand  
and the poor Dean  
who sees in Brand  
a danger to his power  
of his "log," <sup>the justice</sup> ~~the~~ the  
State's religion is the  
power that lifts and  
purifies. The strong hold

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13

542

~~his power over his flock, "for the State religion is the~~  
~~power that lifts and purifies, The Stronghold where~~  
its safety lies, The universal moral measure, You see, the  
State is scant of treasure And wants full value for  
it pence. "Good Christian" means "good citizen". Do you  
suppose it pays in its pelf, To be God and Man a tool,  
And bring annoyance on itself? No, faith, the State  
is not a fool; And all our course would run amiss, Did not the  
the State, by strictest rule, Look only to the life that  
is, But the States object my good friend, through its ~~affix~~  
officials must be gained in this case through its priest  
The Church you see, you have conferred Upon the State, for its  
its sole profit. And therefore all the uses of it Must  
to the States advantage tend."

Brand realizes that the Church he has  
built for the ~~marriage~~ freeing of the spirit of man  
is only to be used for the worship of new idols, so he  
locks the church and throws the key into the fjord, He  
will be no creator of new idols. It is to free man from  
idol worship from the dead ~~past~~ that he demanded all or  
nothing from others and gave all himself, his child,  
Agnes, his all. He urges the men who have come for the  
celebration of the new Church to follow him to the hills  
there to behold the new ~~marriage~~ the ideal. But  
~~no one follows~~ <sup>Instead</sup> he is stoned like many other prophets

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543

14  
Before Brand

- nothing but his Will, and renunciation for the sake of the Will. There-

fore he is deserted and stoned by the people, who go back to their valley,

seduced by the compromising and cunning 'vultures of the law.'

In the end Brand  
is overcame by an avalanche  
at snow laden the mountain  
and is killed he holds yet

the spirit of love

In the wild mountain  
child, Brand, Ibsen  
has symbolized his  
own wild fancy for  
a new ideal of life  
For it is Brand in the

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15

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The ideal which can  
never shine on the  
valley but must ~~never~~  
strike towards the  
peaks the toward  
the light

Brand was <sup>is</sup> considered  
heret of human feeling  
because he urged Agnes  
to give all that was  
left of her dead child  
to the poor beggar. Even  
the father can Agnes  
jealously did, in Agnes  
has and yet the motif  
which impelled Brand  
was <sup>is</sup> not cruelty. or

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lack of warmth it <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~  
his graphic vision  
which made him see  
that by clinging to the  
dead we do nothing  
for the living. It is  
the terrible weight of  
the dead past - traditions  
beliefs, habits, customs  
upon our vision of the  
future which pull us  
back whenever we  
stride forward. Ibsen  
comes back to that  
idea in the Master  
Builder. It is a  
profound and illuminating

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\* 3

of mine, when my father came home. He questioned me about this boy, who was the son of a prosperous ironmonger. The feelings of my father, who was no prosperous and who sold flour by the sack, when he learned that his son had played on the public street with the son of a man who sold nails by the pennyworth in a shop are not to be described. He impressed on me that my honour, my selfrespect, my human dignity, all stood upon my determination not to associate with persons engaged in retail trade. Probably this was the worst crime my father ever committed. And yet I do not see what else he could have taught me, short of genuine republicanism, which is the only possible school of good manners.

Imagine being taught to despise a workman, and to respect a gentleman, in a country where every rag of of excuse for gentility is stripped off by poverty! Imagine being taught that there is one God—A Protestant and a perfect gentleman—keeping Heaven select for the gentry; and an idolatrous impostor called the Pope, smoothing the hell-ward-way for the mass of the people, only admissible into the kitchens of most of the aforesaid gentry as 'thorough servants' (general servants) at eight pounds a year! Imagine the pretensions of the English peerage on the incomes of the English lower middle-class! I remember Stopford Brooke one day telling me that he discerned in my books an intense contemptuous hatred for society. No wonder! though, like him, I strongly demur to the usurpation of the word 'society' by an unsocial system of setting class against class and creed against creed!

Page 17.

One might say of Shaw's mother that she was the antithesis of Candide

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xxxXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

~~xXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

It was really through ~~Sahns~~ <sup>Yashu's</sup> mother that his home was made tolerable. She was a great <sup>talented</sup> lover of music, in fact <sup>earned</sup> ~~saw~~ the upkeep of her children through music lessons. She created a musical and artistic ~~atmosphere~~ <sup>living</sup> atmosphere in her house and thus had the most solitary effort on the development of her children.

Together with a friend of the household a very great music teacher of the time Mrs Shaw was the center of musical interest So it came to pass that before her son Bernard was 15 years of age

Page 18.

Indeed, Mr. Shaw once remarked that, besides their respectability the chief merit of his family was a remarkable aptitude for playing all sorts of wind instruments by ear, even his father playing "Home, Sweet Home" upon the flute. Before he was fifteen, Bernard Shaw knew at least one important work by Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, Verdi and Gounod from cover to cover. Not only did he whistle the themes to himself as a street boy whistles music-hall songs, but he also sang incessantly, to himself and for himself, opera and oratorio, in an "absurd gibberish which was Italian picked up by ear- and Irish Italian at that." No one ever taught him music in his youth, but when he grew up, although he had a very indifferent voice, he took some singing lessons under his mother. At first, he found that he could not make a rightly produced sound that was audible two yards off. But he learned readily, under the competent instruction of his mother, and now his voice, "a commonplace baritone of the most ordinary range, B flat to F, and French pitch preferred for the F", is distinguished rather by audibility than in any other respect. It is noteworthy that the lessons he learned from his mother- secrets of breathing and enunciation-proved of incalculable

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and at fifteen he knew enough of a considerable number of Italian and Flemish painters to recognise their work at sight. His communion with the masterpieces preserved in the Dublin Gallery was so solitary that he was once driven to say, with comically extravagant ~~egotism~~, that he believed he was the only Irishman, except the officials, who had ever been there. This acquaintance with art and the history of art "did more for him," he once asserted, than the two cathedrals in Dublin so magnificently "restored" out of the profits of the drink trade. I think we must conclude, with the ever modest autobiographer, that, thanks to communism in pictures, he was really a very highly educated boy.

deaf  
1800's  
(It was fortunate that the child and adolescent period of Shaw was imbued with art so heavily. The two lectures helped him to educate his mind and to form his character than he could possibly have done especially as the Church. He ~~but~~ was forced to attend had such a depressing effect

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It was for 8 6 200  
Page 12. We learn at dawn  
Saw that  
quote

" When I was a little boy, I was compelled to go to church on  
Sunday; and though I escaped from that intolerable bondage before

I was ten, it prejudiced me so violently against church-going that  
twenty years elapsed before, in foreign lands and in pursuit of works  
of art, I became once more a church-goer. To this day, my flesh  
creeps when I recall that genteel suburban Irish Protestant church,  
built by Roman Catholic workmen who would have considered themselves  
damned had they crossed its threshold afterwards. Every separate  
stone, every pane of glass, every fillet of ornamental ironwork-  
half dog-collar, half-coronet- in that building must have sowed a  
separate evil passion in my young heart. Yes; all the vulgarity,  
sagacity and bad blood which has marred my literary work, was cer-  
tainly laid upon me in that house of Satan! The mere nullity of the  
building could make no positive impression on me; but what could,  
and did, were the unnaturally motionless figures of the congregation  
in their Sunday clothes and bonnets, and their set faces, pale with  
the malignant rigidity produced by the suppression of all expression.  
And yet these people were always moving and watching one another by  
stealth, as convicts communicate with one another. So was I. I  
had been told to keep my restless little limbs still all through the  
interminable hours; not to talk; and, above all, to be happy and holy  
there and glad that I was not a wicked little boy playing in the fields  
instead of worshipping God. I hypocritically acquiesced;



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Indeed, he was anything but a satisfactory husband for a clever woman. It was in her music that Mrs. Shaw found solace and comfort—a refuge from domestic disappointment.

*For traits early manifested in  
selves in the day Shaw's clothes  
and rise. sense of drama*

*Both are  
manifest  
on the page  
date, then  
relates.*

*quote*

Shaw's father, one of his maternal uncles, and a visitor engaged one day in a discussion over the raising of Lazarus. Mr. Shaw held the evangelical view; that it took place exactly as described. The visitor was a pure sceptic, and dismissed the story as manifestly impossible. But Shaw's uncle described it as a put-up job; in which Jesus had made a confederate of Lazarus—had made it worth his while or asked him for friendship's sake to pretend he was dead and at the proper moment to pretend to come to life. "Now imagine me as a little child," said Shaw in relating the story, "In my 'narrow Puritan home', listening to this discussion. I listened with very great interest, and I confess to you that the view which recommended itself most to me was that of my maternal uncle, and I think on reflection you will admit that that was the right and healthy point of view for a boy to take, because my maternal uncle's view appealed to a sense of humour which is a very good thing and a very human thing."

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period Bernard Shaw lived in lodgings in Dublin with his father, who had by this time given up that furtive drinking, of which his son in after life spoke with such frank levity. ~~The~~ salary at first was eighteen pounds a year, his position that of junior clerk. He had no fondness for his work, and took no interest in land agency; nevertheless, he made a very satisfactory clerk.

Page 22.

*Re Mexican*  
*Re brother*  
*living with Re Rams*

In 1872, Mr. Lee left Dublin for London, the joint household broke up, and all musical activity ceased. The return to a single household on Mr. Shaw's income was all but impossible, for his affairs were as unprosperous as ever. At this time there was even some question of Bernard Shaw's two sisters becoming professional singers. With characteristic energy and decisiveness, Mrs. Shaw boldly cut the Gordian knot by going to London and becoming a professional teacher of singing. This domestic debacle robbed young Shaw of his mother's influence, which was always stimulating and inspiring, if somewhat indirectly and impersonally so. It deprived him also of music, which, up to that time, had been his daily food. This sudden deprivation of the solace of music came to him as a distinct surprise. He had never dreamed of such a contingency. Fortunately the piano remained. Although he had never until then touched it except to pick out a tune with one finger, he now set to work in earnest to learn the art of piano playing. It was in a spirit of desperation that he went out and bought a technical handbook of music, containing a diagram of the keyboard. No finger exercises, no studies in velocity for Shaw: he at

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quote

once got out Don Giovanni and tried to play the overture! It took him  
ten minutes to arrange his fingers on the notes of the first chord. "What  
suffered, what everybody in the house suffered, whilst I struggled on,  
labouring through arrangements of Beethoven's symphonies, of Tannhauser,  
and of all the operal and oratorios I knew, will never be told" <sup>it</sup> it was  
vain now, he <sup>said</sup> said, merely to sing: "my native wood-notes wild- just then  
breaking frightfully - could not satisfy my intense craving for the harmony  
which is the emotional substance of music, and for the rhythmic figures  
of accompaniment which are its action and movement. I had only a single  
splintering voice, and I wanted an orchestra." This musical starvation  
it was that drove him to the piano in disregard of the rights of his  
fellow-lodgers.

Page 23.

I soon acquired a terrible power of stumbling through pianoforte  
arrangements and vocal scores; and my reward was that I gained penet-  
rating experiences of Victor Hugo and Schiller from Donizetti, Verdi,  
and Beethoven; of the bible from Handel; of Goethe from Schumann; of  
Beaumarchais and Moliere from Mozart; and of Merimee from Bizet, be-  
sides finding in Berlioz an unconscious interpreter of Edgar Allan Poe.

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of the telegram  
which I learned  
he had written  
to me

first calling his serious attention to Wagner. When Shaw discovered that Bell, whose judgment he held in high regard, considered Wagner a great composer, he at once bought a vocal score of Lohengrin, which chanced to be the only sample to be had at the Dublin music shops. From this moment dates the career of the remarkable music critic, who, in after life, swept Max Nordau off the field with his brilliant and unanswerable defence of the master-builder of modern music. For the first few bars of Lohengrin completely converted him. He immediately became, and ever afterwards remained, the "perfect Wagnerite". The days of Shaw's youth before he went to London, as we have seen, were

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At the age of fifteen Shaw entered the office of a land agent. He learned early to despise university training because it turned out everybody thinking alike. But though he was utterly unfitted for commercial pursuits he held on to his job for five years evidently giving satisfaction since he left this occupation of his own volition.

In 1875 the then famous American revivalists Moody and Sanky came to Dublin. Shaw went to hear them and then straightway wrote a scathing arraignment of their appeal to hysteria as a means of conversion. The letter appeared in April 1875 in "Public Opinion". It aroused the indignation and wrath of his numerous "poverty stricken but gentle" uncles. They little dreamed that this was merely the innocent beginning of a long literary career which was to shock gentility of the whole world.

In 1876 Shaw went to London. He at first tried office work soon realizing his lack of aptitude for it. He determined to try his hand at other things meanwhile having to accept support from his mother. He assures us that "at the expense of my mother I became a man instead of remaining a slave. Instead of preaching to me that I should support her, she supported me. For this she deserved the

quote

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Shaw

He turned his hand to various undertakings—to musical criticism, to versifying, to blank-versifying, to novel-writing; but all equally to no purpose. Asked once what was his first real success, he re-

Shaw had  
a very  
weak  
writing

Page 43.

Shaw faced his career in C

It brought me fifteen shillings. "Full of hope and gratitude, I wrote a really brilliant contribution. That finished me." During this period, he received his greatest fee—five pounds—for a patent medicine advertisement, a circumstance which may give some colour to Dr. Mayerfeld's early denunciation of Shaw as a "quack-salver." On another occasion, a publisher asked Shaw for some verses to fit some old blocks which he had bought up for a school prize book. "I wrote a parody of the thing he wanted and sent it as a joke. To my stupefaction he thanked me seriously, and paid me five shillings." Shaw was so much touched by the gift of five shillings for his parody that he wrote the generous publisher serious verse for another picture. With the startling result that the publisher took it as a joke in questionable taste! Is it any wonder that Shaw's career as a versifier abruptly ended?

The analysis of the artistic temperament which Shaw puts in the mouth of John Tanner— an analysis which Mr. Robert Loraine finds to smack more of mania than of insincerity—is a cynical and distorted picture at best. And yet it gives us a refracted glimpse of the position which Shaw himself deliberately assumed.



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7-18/12 Shaw joined 206

*joined*  
In the winter of 1879, Lecky joined a debating club, called  
*under all leaders of Shelley*  
the Dialectical Society, numbering among its members Mr. Stans-  
well, Mr. Mill, and Mr. J. B. Galsworthy. It was a sort of  
"junior copy" of the once well-known Dialectical Society, which  
had been founded to discuss Stuart Mill's essay on Liberty not  
long after its appearance in print. Both societies were strongly  
*materialist*  
in both there was complete freedom of discussion,  
political, religious and sexual. Women took a prominent part in the  
debates, which often dealt with subjects concerning their rights,  
interests and welfare. A noteworthy feature of these debates,  
particularly in relation to Shaw's future development as a  
public speaker, and a critic as well, was that each speaker, at  
the conclusion of his speech, might be cross-examined on it by  
any one of the others in a series of questions. In this society  
Malthus, Ingersoll, Darwin and Herbert Spencer were held in  
especial reverence. The works of Huxley, Tyndall and George  
Eliot were on the shelves of all the members. The tone of the  
society was very "advanced" - individualistic, atheistic,  
evolutionary. Championship of the Married Woman's Property Act  
was scarcely silenced by the Act itself. The fact that Mrs.  
Besant's children were torn from her like Shelley's, aroused hot  
indignation, as did the prosecutions for "blasphemy" then going  
on. It is not without significance that, even at this time,  
*Shaw* was Socialist enough to defend the action of the State in  
both cases. Indeed, he has always been, as he once told me,  
somewhat of Morris's opinion that "There may be some doubt as to  
who are the best people to have charge of children; but there can  
*be no doubt that the parents  
are the worst*"

*Charles  
a socialist*



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13 207  
among the many interesting members of the Zetetical Society  
Another member of this coterie, in which there was no question of Henry George and Karl Marx, but a great deal of Walt Whitman and Thoreau, was the now well-known Socialist and author, Edward Carpenter, whose "Towards Democracy" and other works are a faithful reflex of the man. It became the habit of these early apostles of "the simple life" to wear sandals; Carpenter even wore his out of doors. He had taught the secret of their manufacture to a workman friend of his, a Millthorpe, a village near Sheffield, where he resided. Not unfittingly, the habitual wearer of moccasins, Carpenter, was always called The Noble Savage by the members of this congenial and delightful circle. The noisy grand piano grew noisier than ever when Shaw and Carpenter visited the Salts—Carpenter, like Shaw, revelling in pianoforte duets with Mrs. Salt.

Page 93

After Shaw had been a member of the Zetetical Society for about a year, he joined the Dialectical Society, and was faithful to it for years after it had dwindled into a little group of five or six friends of Dr. Drysdale, the apostle of Balthus. Shaw subsequently joined another debating society, the Bedford, presided over by Stopford Brooke, who had not then given up his pastorate at Bedford Chapel to devote himself exclusively to literature. During these years, as we shall see more particularly in the next chapter, Shaw was slowly perfecting himself in the art of public speaking. The fascination of the platform grew upon him daily. He not only spoke frequently himself, but also attended public meetings of every sort.

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learning by precept, experience, and example the secrets of the art of platform speaking. With dogged persistence, he was surely, if slowly, acquiring what he himself has called the coolness, the self-confidence and the imperturbability of the statesman.

During these years he had gradually widened and deepened his knowledge of the subjects which periodically came up for discussion in the various debating societies he had joined. In his boyhood he had read Mill on Liberty, on Representative Government and on the Irish Land Question. And he was fully the equal of his co-debaters in knowledge and comprehension of the evolutionary ideas and theories of Darwin, Tyndall, Huxley, Spencer, George Eliot, and their school. But of political economy he knew absolutely nothing. It was in 1882 that his attention was first definitely directed into the economic channel.

Henry George

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quote

At that time, Bernard Shaw eagerly haunted public meetings of all kinds. By a strange chance, he wandered that night into the Memorial Hall in Farringdon Street. The speaker of the evening was Henry George; his speech wrought a miracle in Shaw's whole life. It "kindled the fire" in his soul. "It flashed on me then for the first time," Shaw once wrote, "that the conflict between Religion and Science. . . . the overthrow of the Bible, the higher education of women, Mill on Liberty, and all the rest of the storm that raged round Darwin, Tyndall, Huxley,

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Spencer, and the rest, on which I had brought myself up intellectually, was a mere middle-class business. Suppose it could have produced a nation of Matthew Arnolds and George Eliots! — you may well shudder. The importance of the economic basis dawned on me." Shaw now read Progress and Poverty; and many of the observations which the fifteen-year-old Shaw had unconsciously made now took on a significance little suspected in the early Dublin days of his indifference to land agency.

Shaw was so profoundly impressed by the logic of Henry George's conclusions and suggested remedial measures that, shortly after reading Progress and Poverty, he went to a meeting of the Social Democratic Federation, and there arose to protest against their drawing a red herring across the track opened by George. The only satisfaction he had was to be told that he was a novice; "Read Marx's 'Capital', young man," was the condescending retort of the Social Democrats. Shaw promptly went and did so and then found, as he once said, that his advisers were awestruck, as they had not read it themselves! It was then accessible only in the French version at the British Museum. William Archer has testified to the diligence with which Shaw studied Marx's great work; he caught his first glimpse of Shaw in the British Museum Library, where he noticed a "young man of tawny complexion and attire" studying alternately — if not simultaneously — Das Kapital, and an orchestral score of Tristan and Isolde!

At this crucial period in Shaw's career he was exactly in the mood for Marx's reduction of all the conflicts to the conflict

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+ 18 16

quote

of classes for economic mastery, of all social forms to the economic forms of production and exchange. The real secret of Marx's fascination for him, as he once said, was "his appeal to an unnamed, unrecognised passion - a new passion - the passion of hatred in the more generous souls among the respectable and educated sections for the accursed middle-class institutions that had starved, thwarted, misled, and corrupted them from their cradles." In Marx, Shaw found a kindred spirit; for, like Marx, his whole life had bred in him a defiance of middle-class respectability, of revolt against its benumbing and paralysing influence. As Shaw once said, write

as Shaw wrote  
"I have been some time  
I had some sympathy  
business and  
be would"



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During 1883 & 1884 I saw there  
himself reach a such note localised propaganda  
dogged practice in public speaking now began to demonstrate its  
value with telling effect. While he spent his days in criticising  
books in the Pall Mall Gazette and pictures in the World, he devoted  
his evenings to consistent and strenuous Socialist propagandism.  
He accepted invitations to address all sorts of bodies on every day  
in the week, Sunday not excepted. Remember his confession that he  
first caught the ear of the British public on a cart in Hyde Park, to  
the blaring of brass bands. During these years, also, he was coming  
into close touch with the younger generation destined soon to unite  
in a solid phalanx as the Fabian Society. Probably no living man  
has touched modern life at so many points as has Bernard Shaw. In  
his lifetime he has traversed a very lengthy arc on the circle of  
modern culture, modern thought and modern philosophy.

The Fabian Society, ~~was sitting on a modified Marxist~~  
~~in the early days~~ arose out of the ethical-philosophical society, "New  
 Life." Its early members were Havelock Ellis, Sydney Webb, Frank Macdonald  
 and many other rising social stars in the socialist movement. ~~They~~  
~~all coming from the middle class~~ They represented the radical British  
 intelligentsia as indeed the Fabian society represents now. They were  
 all interested more in immediate reforms than in fundamental changes.  
 They adhered to the motto of the enemy of Hannibal, Fabius Cunctator  
 who taught, "you must always wait for the right moment before you strike  
 a telling blow. But when the moment does come strike hard, or you have  
 hesitation will have lost its meaning. Nevertheless the Fabian society  
 in its inception was anything but respectable in the philistine sense.  
 It was then a fighting organization with such militant spirits as  
 Annie Besant, Graham Wallase and others. It is certainly ultra res-



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## CHAPTER VI Shawian Socialism

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Shaw's positions is effectively summed up in his words:

*quote*

"The people understand their own affairs much better than Marx did, and the simple stratification of society into two classes has as little relation to actual social facts as Marx's value theory has to actual market prices. If the crude Marxian melodrama of 'The Class War; or the Virtuous Worker and the Brutal Capitalist', were even approximately true to life, the whole capitalist structure would have tumbled to pieces long ago, as the 'scientific Socialists' were always expecting it to do, instead of consolidating itself on a scale which has already made Marx and Engels as obsolete as the Gracchi had become in the time of Augustus. By throwing up fabulous masses of 'surplus value,' and doubling and trebling the incomes of the well-to-do middle classes, who all imitate the imperial luxury and extravagance of the millionaires, Capitalism has created, as it formerly did in Rome, an irresistible proletarian bodyguard of labourers whose immediate interests are bound up with those of the capitalists, and who are, like their Roman prototypes, more rapacious more rancorous in their Primrose partisanship, and more hardened against all the larger social considerations, than their masters, simply because they are more needy, ignorant and irresponsible. Touch the income of the rich, and the Conservative proletarians are the first to suffer."

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Shaw wrote four novels The Irrational Knot, Cashel  
Byrons Profession. Love Among the Artists and an Unsocial Socialist"  
They are the literary effusions of his nonage as he called his youth.  
They are propaganda tracts and were published in some party papers  
To in Mrs Beasants publication To-day. They are very characteristic  
of Shaw, indeed they are the forecasts of Shaws tendencies in and  
beliefs later represented so skillfully and with such cleverness in  
all his plays. Anyone wanting to know Shaw should read these novels.

~~Under the pseudonym of Bernard Shaw~~

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

Shaw began as an art critic but was soon shifted to  
music because he managed to insert his social reactions in his articles  
on art. He was then shifted to music when he wrote under the pseudonym of  
Corno di Basetto. He finally became a dramatic critic thanks to Frank  
Harris who was editor in Chief of the Saturday review. By that time  
Shaw was already the author of "The Quintessence of Ibsenism" and four  
plays. But it was not until his first play Widowers Houses was  
produced that Shaw the dramatist plunged into a long and hard and in  
the end most successful struggle as a dramatist.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

In 1888 a gentleman described in the "World" at that time as "A Chinese statesman named Tay Pay", founded the "Star", claiming for it the distinction of the first and only halfpenny paper, and ignoring the "Echo", which early succumbed to the treatment. On the recommendation of Mr. H. W. Maesingham, Shaw was placed on the editorial staff as leader writer, on the second day of the paper's existence.

- - - - -

He once spoke of his column in the "STAR", signed "Corno di Bassetto," as "a mixture of triviality, vulgarity, farce and tomfoolery with genuine criticism."

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Page 20.

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Shaw despised, half ignorantly, half penetratingly, the thought of a university education, for it seemed to him to turn out men who all thought alike and were snobs. So in 1871, at the age of fifteen he entered at the office of an Irish land agent, Mr. Charles Uniacke Tomachand, and remained there until March, 1876. Perhaps the Insensate, the Nietzschean of after years was thus beginning a course of preliminary training: Henri Boyle used to say that to have been a banker was to have gone through the best preparatory school for philosophy. During this

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public meetings at the Memorial Hall Farringdon Street, London, fired Shaw to enlist, in Helne's phrase, "as a soldier in the Liberative War of Humanity." about this time a body, styling itself the Land Reform Union, which still survives as the English Land Restoration League, was formed to propagate GEorgite Land Nationalization. The official mouthpiece of this body was called, if memory serves, the Christian Socialist, which did not last long, owing, as Shaw said, to a lack of Christians. Shaw made a number of lifelong friends through his connection with this organization, which he joined soon after its formation. Chief among these may be mentioned James Leigh Joynes, Sydney Olivier and Henry Hyde Champion; other acquaintances were two Christian Socialist clergymen—Stewart Headlam and Symes of Nottingham. Shaw and Symes frequently indulged in wordy warfare over the respective merits of Socialism and Land Nationalization as universal panaceas for social evils. Symes argued that Land Nationalization would settle everything, to which Shaw cleverly and characteristically replied, as he once told me, that if capital were still privately appropriated Symes would remain "the chaplain of a pirate ship." It is proof of Shaw's fundamental Socialism that he still regards this as a very fair description of the position of a clergyman under our present system.

Through his association with James Leigh Joynes and the Salt family it is not difficult to trace Shaw's initial feeling for Shelley, and the origin and growth of his humanitarian and vegetarian principles. At this time Joynes had just been deprived of his Eton post because he had made a tour in Ireland with Henry George and been arrested with him under the Coercion Act by the police, who did not understand Land Nationalization and supposed the two to be emissaries of the Clan na Gael.



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that he "could'n stand" his own book, he makes a sudden bouleversement as follows: "Since writing the above I have looked through the proof-sheets of this book,, and found, with some access of respect for my youth, that it is a fiction of the first order.....It is one of those fictions in which the morality is original and not ready-made.....I seriously suggest that 'The Irrational Knot' may be regarded as an early attempt on the part of the life force to write 'A Doll's House' in English by the instrumentality of a very immature writer aged twenty-four. And though I say it that should not, the choice was not such a bad shot for a stupid instinctive force that has to work and become conscious of itself by means of human brains."

Page 68.

Shaw once called "Love among the Artists" a novel with a purpose. Viewed from another standpoint, it is a collection of types, a study of temperaments. The author preaches the arrogance of genius as opposed to a false humility in the presence of great art works. The shallow artist, Adrian Herbert, "spends whole days in explaining to you what a man of genius is and feels, knowing neither the one nor the other. Mary Sutherland never surpasses mediocrity as an artist because her knowledge is based upon hearsay instead of upon experience. She stands in sharp contrast to Midge Brailsford, who tersely puts her case to Mary — the case, one might say, of the whole book.

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Page 70.

"Until it is frankly recognized that children are nuisances to adults except at playful moments, and that the first social need that arises from the necessary existence of children in community is that there should be some adequate defence of the comparative quiet and order of adult life against the comparative noise, racket, untidiness, inquisitiveness, restlessness, fitfulness, shiftlessness, dirt, destruction and mischief, which are healthy and natural for children and which are no reason for denying them the personal respect without which their characters cannot grow and set properly, we shall have the present pretence of inexhaustible parental tenderness, moulding of character, inculcation of principles, and so forth, to cloak the imprisoning, drilling, punishing, tormenting, brigading, boy and girl farming, which saves those who can afford it from having to scream ten times every hour, 'Stop that noise, Tommy, or I'll clout your head for you'".

Page 71.

But quite the contrary course is taken in Cashel Byron's Profession, Shaw's next novel. Cashel Byron, the perfect pugilist, fights his way into the good graces of the "highborn" heiress.

Page 77. The seven Deadly Sins are: respectability, conventional virtue, filial affection, modesty, sentiment, devotion to woman, romance. Sydney Prefusis is the philosopher of the New Order, revolted by the rottenness of present civilization and resolved, by any means, to set in motion some schemes for its reformation. Dis-covering too late that marriage to him, as to Tanner, means "Apostasy,

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profanation of the sanctuary of his soul, violation of his manhood, sale of his birthright, shameful surrender, ignominious capitulation, acceptance of defeat," Trefusis deliberately deserts his wife, not because, as with Falk and Svanhild in Ibsen's *Love's Comedy*, love seems too exquisite, too ethereal to be put to the illusion-shattering test of marriage, but because marriage involves the triumph of senses over sense, of passion over reason. Even after he has ceased to love Henrietta, her love for him continues to set in motion the mechanism of passion, and he is revolted by the fact that she is satisfied so long as "the wheels go round."

Page 78.

"A man cannot be a Christian: I have tried it, and found it impossible both in law and in fact. I am a capitalist and a landholder. I have railway shares, mining shares, building shares, bank shares, and stock of most kinds; and a great trouble they are to me. But these shares do not represent wealth actually in existence: they are a mortgage on the labour of unborn generations of labourers, who must work to keep me and mine in idleness and luxury. If I sold them, would the mortgage be cancelled and the unborn generations released from its thrall? No. It would only pass into the hands of some other capitalist; and the working classes would be no better off for my self-sacrifice. Sir Charles cannot obey the command of Christ: I defy him to do it. Let him give his land for a public park: only the richer classes will have the leisure to enjoy it. Plant it at the very doors of the poor,

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so that they may at least breathe its air; and it will raise the value of the neighboring houses and drive the poor away! Let him endow a school for the poor, like Eton or Christ's Hospital; and the rich will take it for their own children as they do in the two instances I have named. Sir Charles does not want to minister to poverty, but to abolish it. No matter how much you give to the poor everything but a bare subsistence wage will be taken away from them again by force. All talk of practising Christianity, or even bare justice, is at present mere waste of words. How can you justly reward the labourer when you cannot ascertain the value of what he makes, owing to the prevalent custom of stealing it? ~~X~~. The principle on which we farm out our national industry to marauders, who recompense themselves by blackmail, so corrupts and paralyses us that we cannot be honest even when we want to. And the reason we bear it so calmly is that very few of us really want to."

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Y1

In 1888, when he became a critic of music, Shaw was restricted solely to lectures on Sundays, as he could not foresee whether he should have the opera or a concert to attend on week-nights. It is remarkable how much he managed to do, even with this handicap, especially as he had to speak usually on short notice. At last, as was inevitable with a man burning the candle at both ends, the strain began to tell; Shaw found it impossible to deal with all the applications he received. For an advanced and persistently progressive thinker like Shaw, the unavoidable repetition of the old figures and the old demonstrations in time grew irksome. He felt the danger of becoming, like Mrell, a windbag — what George Ade calls a "hot-air machine." By 1895 the machine was no longer in full blast; the breakdown of Shaw's health, in 1898, finished him as a systematic and indefatigable propagandist.

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Page 169

In the technical sense of Socialist economics, Shaw occupies the opposite pole to Individualism and Anarchism. And yet in a very definite and general sense, Shaw is a thorough-paced individualist and anarchist. If individualist means a believer in the Shakespearean injunction "To thine own self be true!", in the Ibsenian doctrine "Live thine own life!", then Shaw is an individualist heart and soul. If anarchist means an enemy of convention, of tradition, of current modes of administering justice, of prevailing moral standards, then Shaw is the most revolutionary anarchist now at large. If, on the other hand, Individualist means one who distrusts State action and is jealous of the prerogative of the individual, proposing to restrict the one and to extend the other as far as is humanly possible, then Shaw is most certainly not an Individualist. If Anarchist means dynamitard, incendiary, assassin, thief; champion of the absolute liberty of the individual and the removal of all governmental restraint; or even a believer, as Communist, in a profound and universal sense of high moral responsibility present in all humanity, then Shaw is a living contradiction of Anarchism.

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Page 170

Keen, incisive, pitiless, his words descriptive of 'public opinion' show how little he is tinged with the poetry, the passion

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and the religion which are the very life blood of Socialism.

*Emma Goldman*

"Its operation is for all practical purposes quite arbitrary, and is as often immoral as moral. It is just as hostile to the reformer as to the criminal. It hangs Anarchists and worships Nitrate Kings. It insists on a man wearing a tall hat and going to church, on his marrying the woman he lives with, and on his pretending to believe whatever the rest pretend to believe . . . . But there is no sincere public opinion that a man should work for his daily bread if he can get it for nothing. Indeed, it is just the other way; public opinion has been educated to regard the performance of daily manual labour as the lot of the despised classes. The common aspiration is to acquire property and leave off working. Even members of the professions rank below the independent gentry, so-called because they are independent of their own labour. These prejudices are not confined to the middle and upper classes; they are rampant also among the workers . . . . One is almost tempted in this country to declare that the poorer the man the greater the snob, until you get down to those who are so oppressed that they have not enough self-respect even for snobbery, and thus are able to pluck out of the heart of their misery a certain irresponsibility which it would be a mockery to describe as genuine frankness and freedom. The moment you rise into the higher atmosphere of a pound a week, you find that envy, ostentation, tedious and insincere ceremony, love of petty titles, precedence and dignities, and all the detestable fruits of inequality of condition, flourish as rankly among those who lose as among those who gain by it. In fact, the notion that poverty favours

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virtue was clearly invented to persuade the poor  
that what they lost in this world they would gain in  
the next". (Page 171)

- - - - -

"Bakounine's comprehensive aspiration to destroy  
all states and Established Churches, with their religious,  
political, judicial, financial, criminal, academic,  
economic and social laws and institutions, seems to me  
perfectly justifiable and intelligible from the point  
of view of the ordinary 'educated man', who believes that  
institutions make men instead of men making institutions."  
The State, as at present constituted, Shaw views as  
simply a huge machine for robbing and slave-driving the  
poor by brute force. While he laughs at the Individualism  
expressed in Herbert Spencer's The Coming Slavery  
at the Anarchy expressed in the word Liberty, and in  
those "silly words" of John Hay on the title-page  
of Benjamin Tucker's paper, Shaw is, nevertheless, both  
an individualist and an intellectual anarchist. The  
alleged opposition between Socialism and Individualism,  
Shaw has always strenuously maintained, is false and  
question-begging. "The true issue lies between Socialism

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and Unsocialism, and not between Socialism and that  
instinct in us that leads us to Socialism by its  
rebellion against the squalid levelling down, the  
brutal repression, the regimenting and drilling and  
conventionalizing of the great mass of us to-day, in  
order that a lucky handful may bore themselves to death  
for want of anything to do, and be afraid to walk down  
Bond Street without a regulation hat and coat on." Like  
Ruskin, Morris and Kropotkin, Shaw sees the whole  
imposture through and through, "in spite of its familiar-  
ity, and of the illusions created by its temporal  
power, its riches, its splendour, its prestige, its  
intense respectability, its unremitting piety, and its  
high moral pretension." (Page 189)

- - - - -

"In the same way when, in the European revolutionary  
movement, men came with horrible experiences of prison  
and Siberian wanderings on them, and women whose  
husbands had been hanged or committed suicide, I have  
always had to stand out against the notion that they  
were the better instead of the worse for their mis-  
fortunes, or that they derived any credit or authority  
whatever from them. Give them the indulgence due to

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enforced weakness or the help due to unavoidable  
distress; but don't make them heroes and leaders  
ex-officio because they have been unlucky enough  
to be lamed. " (Page 215)

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[A Review of Lion Feuchtwanger "Prisoners of War"] / Emma Goldman. — 6 p. ; 30 x 20 cm.

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*Vincny*

22098

LION FEUCHTWANGER

THE PLAY "PRISONERS OF WAR" CAME INTO  
EXISTENCE DURING 1917. THE AUTHOR WAS  
IMPELLED TO GIVE EXPRESSION TO HIS DISGUST AT  
THE MENTAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE WAR. (THE  
STUPIDITY OR, ONE MIGHT SAY, THE RASCALITY OF  
SOME OF THE MEN IN AUTHORITY UNDER THE THIRD  
REICH WAS ATTESTED BY A STATEMENT WHICH THE  
CHIEF OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LITERATURE, ONE  
HINDEL, CAUSED THE GERMAN PRESS TO SPREAD  
REGARDING THIS PLAY "PRISONERS OF WAR,"  
TO THE EFFECT THAT THE AUTHOR HAD, DURING THE  
WAR, WRITTEN A TIME-SERVING, JINGOISTIC PLAY.)

THE PRODUCTION OF "PRISONERS OF WAR" WAS  
BORBIDDEN BY THE CENSOR. IT WAS PERMITTED IN  
BOOK FORM BUT WAS RABIDLY ATTACKED. ON THE  
OTHER HAND, TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE,  
"PRISONERS OF WAR" WAS THE FIRST GERMAN PLAY  
SHOWN IN FRANCE AFTER THE WAR.

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22099

THE DRAMATIC NOVEL "1918" WAS BEGUN DURING  
THE EARLY PART OF 1918 AND COMPLETED IN APRIL  
1919. ( IT WAS ORIGINALLY ENTITLED "THOMAS  
WENDT." ( THE AUTHOR NOW BELIEVES THIS WORK  
SHOULD BE KNOWN AS "1918" BECAUSE -- TRANS-  
CENDING THE PERSONALITY OF ITS HERO -- ( IT  
REPRODUCES WITH CAMERA-LIKE FIDELITY THE  
VIEWS AND SENTIMENTS WHICH ENGAGED GERMAN  
INTELLECTUALS TOWARDS THE END OF THE WAR AND  
DURING THE FIRST MONTHS OF THE GERMAN REPUBLIC,  
( UNREALISTIC, UTOPIAN VIEWS, WHICH UNFORTUNATELY  
HAD A DETERMINING EFFECT ON THE GERMAN  
REVOLUTION AND WHICH WERE IN GREAT MEASURE TO  
BLAME FOR ITS COLLAPSE.

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22100

( THE THIRD PLAY, "THE DUTCH MERCHANT,"  
WAS WRITTEN DURING 1919-1920. IN THE COURSE  
OF THE AUTHOR'S DEVELOPMENT IT MARKS -- AFTER  
A FUTILE ATTEMPT TO IMMERSE HIMSELF IN MASS  
EMOTION -- THE RETURN TO AND CONFESSION OF  
INDIVIDUALISM, WHICH HAD BEEN HIS INTELLECTUAL  
STARTING-POINT.

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## PRISONERS OF WAR

22101

- 4 -

GASTON: OH, THAT ONE! THAT IS NOTHING  
TO LOVE. HOW STUPID YOU ARE, PETYA. THAT  
ISN'T A WOMAN! THAT JUST HAPPENED BECAUSE ONE  
IS A MAN, BECAUSE ONE CANNOT SLEEP WHEN ONE  
HASN'T HAD A WOMAN FOR TWO YEARS, BECAUSE ONE  
GOES MAD. A NICE, DOCILE ANIMAL. ONE PETS  
IT, ONE SPEAKS TO IT KINDLY: BUT IT ISN'T A  
WOMAN! IF I HAD BEEN FREE, I WOULD NEVER  
HAVE LOOKED AT SUCH AN ANIMAL. OH, PETYA!  
THAT BLOND GIRL! I HAD GROWN SO CALM, SO  
CONTENTED BECAUSE I WAS AWAY FROM THE PRISON  
CAMP AND WORKED IN THE OPEN. AND NOW, THAT  
BLOND GIRL HAS COME AND MADE ME REBELLIOUS AGAIN.  
ALAS, THAT ONE IS A PRISONER! THAT ONE CANNOT  
DO AS ONE LINES. OH PETYA, PETYA! HOW  
WRETCHED I AM, PETYA!

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*Prisoners of War* 22102

GASTON: WHEN I STOOD ON THE FIRING-LINE  
FOR THE FIRST TIME, I SHRIEKED, AND AFTER THE  
FIRST SKIRMISH MY FACE REMAINED BLOODLESS  
FOR HOURS AND MY WHOLE BODY SHOOK. BUT  
NOW, AT NIGHT, WHEN I CANNOT SLEEP -- THE AIR  
OF THE BARRACKS IS HOT AND CLOSE AND THE  
FUNGENT ODOUR OF THE MANY SLEEPING PEOPLE  
PERVADES EVERYTHING, SO THAT ONE CANNOT BREATHE  
AND FEARS TO STIFLE -- THOUGHTS COME TO ME,  
ALWAYS THE SAME ONES, FRAULEIN MECHTHILD:  
"WHY MUST IT BE I? WHY JUST I? WHY MUST  
I SPEND THE VERY BEST YEARS OF MY LIFE LOCKED  
UP HERE, UNABLE TO DO WHAT I WOULD LIKE; WHY  
MUST I REMAIN WHERE I DO NOT WANT TO BE; WHY  
MUST I WORK AS I AM TOLD; GET OLD BEFORE MY  
TIME WITHOUT HAVING ENJOYED MY YOUTH?! AM  
I A SLAVE? NO, AM I A CRIMINAL?" WHILE I WAS  
IN THE CAMP NEAR BADEN, WE HAD A FELLOW-  
PRISONER, A RUSSIAN. HE WAS VERY QUIET AND

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22103

DOOILE. HE WAS NEVER ANGRY AND HE NEVER  
CURSED. BUT HE COULD NOT SLEEP. HE  
COULD NOT SLEEP A SINGLE NIGHT. HE LAY AND  
DREAMED WITH HIS EYES WIDE OPEN. HE WAS A  
LARGE, POWERFUL MAN AND HE WAS NEVER REALLY ILL.  
BUT HE BECAME WEAKER EACH SUCCEEDING DAY.

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[A Review of Leo Tolstoy "Fruits of Enlightenment" / Emma Goldman. — 7 p.; 21 x 17 cm.]

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Deeds of Enlightenment  
a trafficking comedy  
and a rich satire  
upon our pseudo  
culture

A rich land-owner  
Leonid Dydyorovitch  
is discussed by the  
popular dad — gradually  
consults the spirits  
in every issue

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2

But when a group of  
peasants arrive to  
close a land-deal  
star begun a year  
prior the master  
goes to the spirits  
for guidance.  
Alas for the fickleness  
of the spirits - they  
have changed their  
mind they now  
advise Scavid Syad  
to demand

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from the peasants  
payment in full

The peasants are  
in despair but the  
situation is saved  
by Tatjana the jolly  
maid of Mme Lyadova.  
She is in love with  
the Kholodkov <sup>boy</sup> ~~help~~ <sup>young</sup> man.  
Semyon, the son of  
one of the peasants.  
Tatjana has on many  
occasions acted v.





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5 337  
urge toward being  
syndicated in the  
the paper. The scene  
is one of the honest  
tongues, also an open  
aloudness in  
literature

at the same time  
instincts of the in the  
play that spiritualism  
the spheres of science  
especially medical  
science are ma  
less ordinary than

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6

spiritualism. But  
the lady, at the same  
considered herself  
mighty advanced  
of the decades spiritu-  
alism but the deep  
facts in the evil  
power of germs  
make her as much  
a slave to her superstition  
the very danger that  
the peasants came  
from a deep <sup>depression</sup>  
stricken ~~depression~~ <sup>depression</sup>

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339  
M  
Send dear into convulsions  
as there is no peace  
until the germ carriers  
traverse with the  
quaking Patagonia  
the medicine  
Symptoms are driven  
from the premises  
the latter thoroughly  
disinfected —

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Tolstoy's Plays / Emma Goldman. — 7 p. ; 21 x 18 cm.

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346

Tolstoy's Plays  
The Power of Darkness  
Peter the old peasant  
a miser, slave driver  
his young wife Annsya  
his two children from  
his first marriage  
& his servant Nikota  
Annsya hates Peter  
& loves Nikota, & urged  
on by the cunning man

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11/347  
Nikita she passes  
Peters, takes his money  
or marries the young  
farm Calahan

Nikita he carries  
the master of the  
farm & the clandestine  
lover of a rich  
the young daughter  
of the dead Peters

So long to I go on her  
conditions betrays

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3 111 348  
The secret of Anisya  
who had been cast  
aside by Nikita  
takes the reigns  
Anisya is forced  
to give birth to her  
child in the camp  
her cry stifled by  
the terror of her step  
mother

When the child is born  
Anisya with the consent  
of Nikita's mother

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12  
349  
Tolstoy the infant as dead & farce to hurry it.

Soon Nikita dis-  
cuss the child is alive

In the midst of  
covering the tiny  
grave Nikita dis-  
covers that the child  
is alive; half insane  
by terror & place,  
crushes the innocent  
victim with a hand

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350  
Dear that marriage  
the man of the holy  
pursues him on his  
sleeping he wakes  
pours. He tries to drink  
in drink  
attempts to hang  
himself. In the end  
he dashes before  
the assembled guests  
who had come to  
the wedding of Alexandra  
and confesses the

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448

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351  
makes a clean breast  
of his crimes

Tolstoy's powerful  
pen <sup>marks</sup> ~~marks~~ its each  
character stand out  
upon the black back  
ground of ignorance  
poverty & superstition  
which held the people  
of his time in captivity  
He makes us see  
that it was not innate  
vicelessness but

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449

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352  
VI  
The Power of Darkness  
who dictates their  
action. In Anaya's  
words "something  
heavy in our heads,  
in pressing upon  
us, pressing us  
down"

---

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450



# The Emma Goldman Papers

860717013

Anarchist Symposium by Tolstoy / Emma Goldman. — (fragment). —  
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1885

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## ANARCHIST SYMPOSIUM BY TOLSTOY.

TOLSTOY asks how it is that the people submit to oppressive governments, and answers that it is owing to a "a highly artificial organization, created with the help of scientific progress, in which all men are bewitched into a circle of violence from which they cannot free themselves. At present this circle consists of four means of influence; they are all connected and hold each other, like the links of a chain."

The first means is the "hypnotization of the people" leading them to the erroneous opinion that the existing order is unchangeable and must be upheld, while in reality it is unchangeable only by its being upheld." It is accomplished by "fomenting the two forces of superstition called religion and patriotism.

The second means is that the State employs in the bribery of a small class, to which it gives official positions and special privileges.

The third means is intimidation, which "consists in setting down the present State order--of whatever sort, be it free republican order or be it the most grossly despotic --as something sacred and unchangeable, and imposing the most frightful penalties upon every attempt to change it.

The fourth means is to "separate a certain part of all the men, whom they have stupefied and bewitched by the three first means, and subject these men to special, stronger forms of stupefaction and bestialization, so that they become will-less tools less of every brutality and cruelty that the government sees fit to resolve upon."

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1886

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"Intimidation, bribery, hypnosis, bbing men to enlist as soldiers. The soldiers, in turn, afford the possibility of punishing men plundering them in order to bribe officials with the money; hypnotizing them, and thus bringing them into the ranks of the very soldiers on whom the power for all this is based."

Tolstoy is positive that the conditions that he describes so graphically cannot endure much longer, for he says: "To-day every man who thinks, however little, sees the impossibility of keeping on with the life hitherto lived, and the necessity of determining new forms of life."

To those who fear that it will be impossible for the masses to come together and co-operate without a State-center around which to gather, he replies that danger of isolation no longer exists. "The means of intercourse have developed extraordinarily. For the forming of societies, associations, corporations; for the gathering of congresses and the creation of economic and political institutions, governments are not needed; nay, in most cases, they are rather a hindrance than a help toward the attainment of such ends."

With remorseless logic Tolstoy points out that the same objections that are made to the forcible rule of the few hold good as against the attempts of many to overthrow that rule by force. He insists that the existing regime is to be wrecked, not by revolutionary enemies from outside but by passive resistance from within; men refusing to do at the behest of the ruling powers that which their conscience tell them is unjust and wrong; and he points out that already in Russia men are, refusing on these

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1887

very grounds to pay taxes, to take the general oath of allegiance, to exercise police functions, and to serve in the army.

In a word, Tolstoy conceives that the great change for which he longs can be brought about only by a previous change in our conceptions, knowledge, and aims; by our taking larger and wiser views of the meaning of life, and that the way to quicken such change--which must come sooner or later --is, first to speak out our opinions with perfect frankness, and, secondly and still more important, to act up to our convictions.

As regards the first he says: "If we would only stop lying and acting as if we did not see the truth; if we would only testify to the truth that summons us and boldly confess it, it would at once turn out that there are hundreds, thousands, millions of men in the same situation as ourselves; that they see the truth like us; are afraid, like us, of remaining isolated if they confess it, and are only waiting, like us, for the rest to testify to it."

To enforce his argument that it is most important of all that we should make our lives square with our convictions, he uses the following illustration: "Men in their present situation are like bees that have left their hive and are hanging on a twig in a great mass. The situation of the bees on the twig is a temporary one and absolutely must be changed. They must take flight and seek a new abode. Every bee knows that, and wishes to make an end of its own suffering condition and that of the others, but this cannot be done so long as the others do not help. But all cannot rise at once, for one hangs over another and hinders it from letting go; therefore all remain hanging. One might think that there was no way out of this situation for the bees, and there would be none, were it not that each bee is an independent living being. B

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1888

-4-

~~But it is only needful that one bee is an independent living being.~~ But it is only needful that one bee spread its wings, rise and fly, and after it the second, the third, the tenth, the hundredth, for the immobile hanging mass to become a freely flying swarm of bees."

He gives another forcible illustration along the same line of thought: "The passage of men from one order of life to another does not take place steadily, as the sand in the hour-glass runs out, one grain after another from the first to the last, but rather as a vessel that has been sunk into water fills itself. At first the water gets in only on one side, slowly and uniformly but then its weight makes the vessel sink and now the thing takes in, all at once, all the water that it can hold."

I have left to the last the consideration of Tolstoy's views on the subject of property, although they seem to some the most important part of his teaching, because, as has been shown already, Tolstoy deprecates all endeavors to dictate the mould in which the society of the future shall be cast, saying that it will be "~~as circumstances and men shall make it~~", saying that it will be "~~as circumstances and men shall make it~~". But Tolstoy is the strongest of <sup>free</sup> Communists, believing that the law of love, on which he bases all his views of life (since he holds that it alone gives us true happiness) requires that we should at all times be willing to share our possessions.

He declares that it is a "crime that tens of thousands of hungry, cold, deeply degraded human beings are living in Moscow, while I, with a few thousand others, have tenderloin and sturgeon for dinner, and cover horses and floors with blankets and carpets. He considers himself "an accomplice in this unending and uninter-

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-3-

1889.

crime so long as I still have a superfluous bit of bread while another has no bread at all." He further explains that the evil significance of property is specially felt in the case of such things as are necessary to the production of wealth, and notably as regards land and tools--a position in which the Socialists will all agree with him--showing that the propertyless is thus compelled to hand over more and more of the products of his toil to the non-worker. The dependence of the poor on the rich becomes most prominent when we pass to a consideration of money, for, as the saying is, "he who has money has in his pocket those who have none."

In direct line with his main attack on government as being the incarnation of force, Tolstoy points out, in passage after passage, that the dominion of the propertied rests on physical force. "If men hand over the greatest part of the product of their labor to the capitalist or landlord, though they, as do all laborers now, hold this to be unjust," this is done "only because they know they will be beaten and killed if they do not."

He declares his belief that the existing regime will be replaced by societies in which men will be held together by the mutual respect which, by an inherent characteristic of human nature, men who are less advanced in knowledge always pay to those whom they recognize as more advanced, and that in this subordination there is nothing irrational or self-contradictory, for "the man who yields to a mental influence acts according to his own wishes."

This last sentence shows how basic with Tolstoy is his objection to all external rule, his insistence throughout being that the individual must act in accordance with the dictates of his own reason. It must be stated, however, that Tolstoy distinctly refuses, even more emphatically



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-6-

1890

tically than does Proudhon, to map out the future, his answer to the question of the form that it will take being: "The future will be as circumstances and men shall make it. We are not at this moment able to get perfectly clear ideas of it. The details of a new order of life cannot be known to us; they have to be worked out by ourselves. Life consists only in learning to know the unknown, and putting our action in harmony with the new knowledge of human societies and of humanity."

But he is certain that the change that lies before us will be an approach to the truth and its realization. "How can the forms in which truth appears be brought to naught by an approach to the truth? They will be made different, better, higher, but by no means will they be brought to naught. Only that which was false in the forms of its appearance hitherto will be brought to naught; what was genuine will unfold itself the more splendidly." Thus Tolstoy, who has a profound belief in the wisdom, beneficence, and righteousness of the entire scheme of life, is the most optimistic of revolutionists.

Nevertheless he faces the questions that are asked as to what defense there will be against enemies when the State shall have disappeared. As regards the protection against bad men, he says that they are not "special creatures like the wolf among the sheep, but just such men as all of us, who like committing crimes as little as we do," and he adds, "we know that the activity of governments, with their crude forms of punishment, which do not correspond to the present stage of morality; their prisons, tortures, guillotines, contrivances more to the barbarizing of the people than to their culture, and hence rather to the multiplication than to the diminution of such criminals."



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Soviet Drama  
Lectures in Montreal 1934.

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1687

## SOVIET NOVELS & PLAYS

TWO NEW THREE-ACT PLAYS BY MAXIM GORKI

(STATS PUBLISHING COMPANY, MOSCOW).

(THE FIRST OF THESE, "YEGOR BULICHYOV."  
 IS A PAINTING OF THE OLD RUSSIAN MERCHANT  
 CLASS, OR, RATHER, OF THE HALF-PEASANT,  
 TRADITIONAL, WEALTHY, BUT, IN THE EUROPEAN  
 SENSE, UNCULTURED SECTION OF THAT CLASS, ON  
 THE VERY EVE OF THE REVOLUTION.

GORKI KNOWS WELL THAT DARK, HEAVY,  
 OPPRESSIVE MILIEU: DRAWN TO IT BY A STRANGE  
 LOVE-HATRED, IT DELIGHTS HIM TO DEPICT IT  
 AND HE DOES SO MASTERFULLY, IN CANVASES EVEN  
 DARKER THAN ITS VANISHED REALITY.

ALTHOUGH "YEGOR BULICHYOV" HAS BEEN  
 PRODUCED WITH GREAT SUCCESS BY THE VAKHTANGOV  
 THEATRE IN MOSCOW, IT IS RATHER A PLAY FOR

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- 2 -

1605

READING THAN FOR THE STAGE: THERE IS NEITHER  
DRAMATIC ACTION NOR CHEKHOVIAN "MOOD-EFFECTS"  
IN IT. AS A PIECE OF WRITING, HOWEVER,  
IT IS COMPACT, POWERFUL AND EFFECTIVE.

ALL OF THE PLAY'S CHARACTERS, FROM THE  
GREEDY, UNSCRUPULOUS AND CLOSE-FISTED OLD  
YEGOR BULYCHYOV HIMSELF TO GLAFIRA, HIS  
WIFE'S CHAMBERMAID AND HIS MISTRESS, TO  
SHURA, HIS YOUTHFUL ADOPTED DAUGHTER, WITH  
HER MIXTURE OF SCHEMING SELFISHNESS AND  
NEBULOUS DREAMS ARE INTENSELY REAL AND ALIVE.

IT IS, HOWEVER, CHIEFLY IN ITS DOUBLE  
PSYCHOLOGICAL AXIS THAT THE CHIEF SOURCE OF THE  
PLAY'S EFFECTIVENESS LIES.

ILL WITH CANCER, BULYCHYOV IS A DOOMED MAN;  
THE PLAY IS THE STORY OF HIS BEHAVIOR BEFORE THE

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- 3 -

1606

FACE OF IMMINENT DEATH.

WITH THIS AGONY OF HIS IS HARMONIZED THE  
AGONY OF HIS CLASS -- ALL OF THE CHARACTERS OF  
THE PLAY ARE AWARE OF THE INEVITABILITY OF THE  
REVOLUTION AND THE FIRST STREET RIOTS BREAK OUT  
DURING THE LAST SCENES OF THE PLAY. IT IS  
EXACTLY THIS PAINTING OF THE "DECOMPOSITION OF  
CAPITALISM" THAT SOVIET CRITICS PRAISE TO THE  
SKIES. ONE MAY DISAGREE WITH THEM. IF  
THAT PAINTING WERE THE CHIEF SUBJECT OF THE PLAY  
AND NOT MERELY ITS BACKGROUND, IT WOULD BE  
INADEQUATE AND HOPELESSLY ONE-SIDED.

WHAT REALLY HOLDS THE READER'S ATTENTION  
IS BULICHYOV'S PSYCHOLOGY. AND IT MUST BE  
ADMITTED THAT THIS PSYCHOLOGY IS PRESENTED  
BRILLIANTLY. THE OLD MAN'S DESPERATE,  
BIOLOGICAL CLINGING TO LIFE (ALTHOUGH REALIZING

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1687

AT HEART THAT HE IS DYING, HE OBSTINATELY  
 HOPES AND TRIES TO PERSUADE HIMSELF THAT HIS  
 ILLNESS IS BUT A TRIFLE; HIS RUSHING FROM  
 DOCTORS TO ILLITERATE HEALERS AND FROM HEALERS  
 BACK TO DOCTORS; HIS FEELING THAT HIS LIFE  
 HAS BEEN SPENT SENSELESSLY AND STUPIDLY IN  
 BLIND GREED FOR ACQUISITION, (AND THAT ALL  
 AROUND HIM ARE SELFISH BEASTS, (JUST AS HE  
 HIMSELF ALWAYS HAS BEEN A BEAST; AND,  
 FINALLY, HIS IMPOTENT WRATH AGAINST GOD, OR,  
 RATHER, THAT "SOMETHING" (FOR HE LONG  
 SINCE HAS LOST HIS RELIGIOUS FAITH) WHICH  
 HAS DOCKED HIM TO THIS TORMENT -- ALL THESE  
 COMBINE INTO A HUMAN TRAGEDY OF GREAT GENUINE-  
 NESS AND POWER.

OF COURSE, ONE MAY OBJECT THAT LEO  
 TOLSTOY'S "DEATH OF IVAN ILYICH" IS STILL  
 MORE POWERFUL. BUT THIS WOULD BE AN UNFAIR

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1688

ARGUMENT. WHAT MATTERS IS THAT GORKI HAS  
DEVELOPED A SUBJECT WHICH ALREADY HAD BEEN  
DEVELOPED BY HUNDREDS OF WRITERS WITH GENUINE  
ORIGINALITY AND IMPRESSIVENESS.

"DOSTIGAYEV" IS A CONTINUATION OF THE  
FIRST PLAY -- WE FIND IN IT THE SAME CHARACTERS,  
MINUS BULYCHYOV. HERE THE DEBACLE OF THE  
MERCHANT CLASS IS TRACED THROUGH THE FIRST  
STAGE OF BOLSHEVISM.

THIS, TOO, IS A CRUEL AND POWERFUL  
PIECE OF WRITING. IT LACKS, HOWEVER, THE  
CONCENTRATED UNITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF  
"YSGOR BULYCHYOV."

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1689

## DISTIGAYEV

"DISTIG YEV" COVERS THE PERIOD FROM  
 THE CRITICAL "JULY DAYS" OF THE KERENSKY  
 REGIME TO THE BOLSHEVIK SUCCESSION. IT  
 COINCIDES THUS WITH THE MATERIAL IN THE  
 SECOND VOLUME OF TROTSKY'S "HISTORY OF THE  
 RUSSIAN REVOLUTION." AND IT GIVES THIS  
 MEMBER OF THE THEATRE FRATERNITY MUCH PAIN  
 TO HAVE TO REPORT THAT, EVEN ON THE SCORE  
 OF DRAMATIC VALUES, THE HISTORIAN FAR  
 OUTDISTANCES THE DRAMATIST.

GORKI BEGINS HIS PLAY WITH A SPEECH,  
 OFF-STAGE, BY A KERENSKY ORATOR AND ENDS  
 IT WITH A COUPLE OF SHOTS FROM A BOLSHEVIK  
 FIRING SQUAD, ALSO OFF-STAGE.

ONE IS TEMPTED TO SAY THAT THE EPIC  
 QUALITY OF THE REVOLUTION, FOR THE MOST PART,

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- 2 -

1630

BLUDED HIM, REMAINING OFF STAGE.

THIS WOULD NOT BE QUITE ACCURATE. FOR  
 GORKI'S CHIEF CONCERN HERE IS TO DEPICT THE  
 TURMOIL AMONG THE CLERGY AND THE BOURGEOISIE.

IN SNATCHES, ONE GETS ALL OF THE  
 ELEMENTS WHICH MADE UP THE COMPLEX SITUATION  
 -- THE CHARGES OF GERMAN MONEY, THE LACK OF  
 AUTHORITY OF THE HAPSHAWK GOVERNMENT, THE  
 UNCERTAINTY OF THE PEASANTS' ATTITUDE, THE  
 FEAR OF THE BOLSHIEVICS BY CLERGY AND  
 BOURGEOISIE, THE CONFUSION OF THE YOUNG  
 PEOPLE OF THE LATTER CLASS .....

IF THESE THINGS WERE TREATED EPISODICALLY,  
 THE PLAY MIGHT HAVE THE NARRATIVE POWER OF A  
 MOVIE. INSTEAD, THERE ARE FEW SCENES,  
 WITH A LONG LIST OF CHARACTERS MAKING NUMEROUS

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- 3 -

1691

AND QUITE ARBITRARY EXITS AND ENTRANCES.

THE PLAY THEREFORE HAS THE CHARACTER  
OF A MOSAIC. OF BITS PIECED TOGETHER. BUT  
IT LACKS THE STRONGLY DOMINANT DESIGN REQUIRED  
BY THE MOSAIC ART.

THE SKETCHES OF TALK BECOME WEARI-  
SOME. A LITTLE DRUNKEN SCENE HOLDS ONE'S  
INTEREST ABOVE ALL THE WEIGHTY HISTORICAL  
MOMENTS.

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U  
 16, 17, 22,  
 FEAR

1652

BY ALEXANDER AFINOGSEYEV

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE INTELLECTUALS  
 AND THE PROLETARIAN REGIME IN THE SOVIET UNION  
 PROVIDES THE THEME FOR ALEXANDER AFINOGSEYEV'S  
 MOST SUCCESSFUL PLAY, "FEAR". DEALING  
 SPECIFICALLY WITH INTELLECTUALS IN ABSTRACT  
 SCIENTIFIC PURSUITS, IT APPLIES WITH NO  
 LESS FORCE TO THE 'INTELLIGENTSIA' AS A WHOLE.

SCIENCE, ACCORDING TO AFINOGSEYEV AND  
 COMMUNISTS GENERALLY, CANNOT REMAIN APOLITICAL.  
 IT IS AN INSTRUMENT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE, OF  
 THE REVOLUTION, AND MUST BE APPROACHED IN THAT  
 SPIRIT. THE PROCESS WHEREBY AN HONEST  
 BUT OLD-FASHIONED AND INDIVIDUALISTIC SCIENTIST  
 PROFESSOR BORODIN, LEARNS THIS COMMUNIST  
 LESSON MAKES THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE PLAY.  
 DESIRING TO ESTABLISH ETERNAL, CLASSLESS,  
 APOLITICAL LAWS OF SCIENCE, THE PROFESSOR FINDS

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1693

HIMSELF A TOOL IN THE HANDS OF ANTI-SOVIET  
ELEMENTS; ONLY AFTER HE IS CONVINCED OF  
HIS ERROR BY HIS OWN SUFFERING IS HE RECONCILED  
TO THE NEW SURROUNDINGS.

THE THEME IS ONE WHICH HAS STIMULATED  
A GREAT MANY SOVIET NOVELISTS AND PLAYWRIGHTS.  
IF ONLY BECAUSE MANY OF THEM, BEING INTELLEC-  
TUALS THEMSELVES, MUST SOLVE THE PROBLEM IN  
THEIR OWN LIVES. (AFINOGENYEV HAS HANDLED  
THE TOUCHY SUBJECT WITH MORE DARING THAN MOST,  
EXPOSING NOT ONLY THE MISTAKES BUT THE GENUINE  
GRIEVANCES OF THE EDUCATED CLASSES CALLED ON  
TO SERVE NEW MASTERS.

THE PLAY WAS WRITTEN IN 1931, AND THE  
DATE IS SIGNIFICANT. THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR  
PLAN WAS BY THAT TIME WELL UNDER WAY.

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1634

APINOGENYEV, BORN IN 1904, WAS ONLY  
THIRTEEN WHEN THE REVOLUTION CAME. HIS  
MOTHER WAS A VILLAGE SCHOOL-TEACHER, HIS  
FATHER A WRITER. HE BEGAN WRITING AT THE AGE  
OF FIFTEEN AND BEFORE HE WAS TWENTY HAD  
PUBLISHED THREE BOOKS OF POETRY AND VERSE.  
BUT, AS HE RECORDS HIMSELF, 'BEING DISILLUSIONED  
IN HIS POETIC TALENTS, HE WENT OVER TO PROSE.'  
FROM THE FIRST HE WAS DRAWN INTO ACTIVE WORK  
IN REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL AND LITERARY  
UNDERTAKINGS. IN 1920, HE INDICATES, HE  
HELD SIXTEEN DIFFERENT JOBS SIMULTANEOUSLY;  
MILITARY CENSOR, EDITOR OF A NEWSPAPER, ETC.

## CHARACTERS

BORODIN, IVAN: PROFESSOR, SCIENTIFIC  
DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF PHYSIOLOGICAL  
STIMULI.

VALENTINA (VALYA): HIS DAUGHTER

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1655

BOBROV, NIKOLAI: PROFESSOR, HER HUSBAND.

BAKHAROV, VISARION: PROFESSOR

KASTALSKY, HERMAN: PUPIL

VARGASOV, SEMYON: EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF  
THE INSTITUTE.

ANALIA, ANALIA: A VERY OLD LADY.

ELENA: COMMUNIST, RESEARCH ASSISTANT AT  
THE INSTITUTE.

TSEKHOVOI, NIKOLAI: COMMUNIST, HER HUSBAND

NATASHA: TSEKHOVOI'S DAUGHTER

KLARA: COMMUNIST, FACTORY WORKER.

NEVSKY, BORIS: COMMUNIST, MANAGING DIRECTOR  
OF THE INSTITUTE.

KIMBAYEV: EXCUSE ME. I'VE JUST  
ARRIVED BY TRAIN FROM KAYL-ORDA. I STUDIED  
AT THE WORKERS' FACULTIES, WAS PROMOTED, WILL  
NOW ATTEND THE INSTITUTE, AND I WILL WORK  
HARD ... O-BAI-AI! WHAT A LOT OF BOOKS!

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1696

AND ALL OF THEM MUST BE READ! I DID NOTHING  
UNTIL I WAS TWENTY YEARS OLD. NOW I MUST  
CATCH UP. THE PEOPLE OF KAZAKSTAN ARE A  
BACKWARD LOT. I MUST CATCH UP. I'VE COME  
HERE TO STUDY. I CAME AS SOON AS I COULD.  
WE HAVE NO BOOKS. WE HAVE NO TRAINED MEN.

NATASHA: PAPA! ELENA! DON'T MAKE SO  
MUCH NOISE! YOU DON'T LET ME THINK.

TSEKHVOI: BETTER GET USED TO THINKING  
AMONG PEOPLE, MY DAUGHTER.

NATASHA: I AM GETTING USED TO IT,  
LITTLE BY LITTLE.

ELENA: GIVE UP YOUR NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS  
AND TAKE A REST.

NATASHA: I'M BUSY -- I'M BUSY -- I'M BUSY!

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1697

NATASHA: I AM BURDENED WITH TOO MANY  
DUTIES. I HAVE NO TIME. RIGHT NOW I AM  
BUSY WITH A REPORT OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN.  
DON'T LAUGH! THAT'S MUCH HARDER WORK THAN  
MAKING A CAMEL OUT OF CLAY.

BOBROV: WHERE ARE YOU GOING TO READ  
YOUR REPORT, LITTLE GIRL?

NATASHA: AT MY CLUB. I AM THE OFFICIAL  
SCHOOL REPORTER.

( KIMBAYEV: SO SILLY TO WASTE ONE'S LIFE  
ON SLEEPING AND EATING! I'M GLAD I DIDN'T  
SLEEP ANOTHER NIGHT LAST NIGHT ... SO I READ  
ANOTHER BOOK. I'M NOW READING THREE BOOKS AT  
ONE TIME. "WAR AND PEACE," "THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF CAPITALISM," "THE FUNCTION OF THE BRAIN."  
LET ME HAVE KOTOMIN'S BOOKS. I WANT TO WRITE  
A PAPER ABOUT THAT SABOTAGER'S BOOK. LET ME

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1658

HAVE KOTOMIN.

KIMBAYEV: YOU LEAN TO SAY IT'S HARMFUL  
 FOR US BUT NOT HARMFUL FOR YOU? YOU ARE A  
 GREAT PEOPLE; WE ARE A LITTLE PEOPLE. A  
 LITTLE PEOPLE, LIKE A LITTLE BOY, MUST GO  
 EARLY TO BED. IN THE PAST HE SLEPT A LOT.  
 COMRADE KASTALSKY: BUT IT'S DIFFERENT NOW.  
 WHATEVER YOU CAN DO, I CAN DO TWICE AS WELL.  
 IF YOU DON'T SLEEP ONE MONTH, I CAN GO WITH-  
 OUT SLEEP FOR TWO MONTHS. I'M DETERMINED  
 TO CATCH UP WITH THE GRADUATE STUDENT  
 KASTALSKY.

KASTALSKY: HURRY, RUN FOR A DROCHNY,  
 AND TO THE NEWSPAPER OFFICE! ... WRITE YOUR  
 LETTER TO THE EDITOR! RENOUNCE YOUR TEACHER!  
 SPIT AT HIS BEARD! YOU NEED NOT BE AFRAID --  
 HE IS BEHIND THE BARS NOW! AND THEY WILL HAIL  
 YOU AS A GREAT MAN. WHY DON'T YOU DO IT?

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1699

BOBROV: KEEP STILL!

BORODIN: NIKOLAI HA, YOUR LIPS ARE TREMBLING.

BOBROV: TELL YOUR FAVORITE TO STOP.

KASTALSKY: NIKOLAI KASYANOVITCH IS IN  
A HURRY TO RENOUNCE KOTOMIN IN ORDER TO WIN  
THE FAVOR OF ELENA MIKHAILOVNA.

BOBROV: I HAVE DISCREED WITH KOTOMIN'S  
VIEWS FOR A LONG TIME.

BORODIN: BUT SURELY THIS IS NOT THE TIME  
TO PROTEST YOUR DIFFERENCES -- WHEN HE IS IN  
PRISON!

BOBROV: IT MAY BE A LITTLE LATE, BUT  
NEVER LATE THAN NEVER. I DON'T WANT KASTALSKY  
TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF MY BEING A WEAKLING ABOUT  
IT.

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1700

NATASHA: THAT'S DIFFERENT. MAYBE  
WE WON'T PUBLISH THAT NOTICE ABOUT YOU.

BORODIN: THANKS. THINK OF IT! A  
CHILD LIKE THAT WRITING POLITICAL NOTICES  
ABOUT MEN OF MY STANDING!

KAPTALSKY: I THINK IT'S WORSE THAT  
BOBROV SHOULD BE WRITING TO THE NEWSPAPERS  
RENOUNCING HIS TEACHER KOTCHIN FOREVER AND  
AYS ... THE TIME WILL COME WHEN HE WILL  
RENOUNCE YOU, TOO.

BORODIN: YES, I KNOW. PEOPLE ARE  
BECOMING PSETY. THERE ARE NO LARGE PRINCIPLES  
TO GUIDE THEM. BEFORE LONG WE WON'T BE  
ABLE TO TELL THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A PROFESSOR  
AND SOME VYDVEZHENYETS. I'M SORRY ABOUT  
NIKOLAI. IT'S A GREAT PITY. HE'S HEADING  
STRAIGHT FOR THE ABYSS. BUT AFTER ALL, THAT'S  
HIS OWN AFFAIR. I SUGGEST THAT YOU GET BETTER

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1701

ACQUAINTED WITH NIKOLAI PETROVITCH -- A  
VERY INTERESTING PERSON. I HAVE BEEN  
OBSERVING HIM SCIENTIFICALLY, STUDYING HIM  
AS I USED TO STUDY THE RABBITS.

TSEKHOVOI: YOU THINK SO? LISTEN TO  
THIS, COMRADE NEVSKY. 'TO ONE WHO SHARES  
MY VIEWS, MY FRIEND NIKOLAI BOBROV -- PAVEL  
KOTOMIN.' INSCRIBED IN HIS OWN HAND ON HIS  
OWN BOOK. AND THIS SABOTAGER WHO HAS NOT  
YET BEEN EXPOSED IS STILL IN CHARGE OF A  
DEPARTMENT. TO ME IT SEEMS EVIDENT THAT  
THE MANAGEMENT IS GUILTY OF OPPORTUNISM.

NEVSKY: OCH!

TSEKHOVOI: THIS IS NO LAUGHING MATTER,  
NEVSKY.

NEVSKY: NO MATTER WHAT YOU DO, YOU  
CAN'T AVOID A DEVIATION, IT SEEMS. FOR

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1702

HEAVEN'S SAKE, TELL ME WHAT TO DO. BORODIN

WON'T LET ME TOUCH BOBROV'S HEAD.

NATASHA: SYERYOSHKA WAS EXPELLED FROM

OUR GROUP ... HIS FATHER WAS A PRIEST. YOU  
KNOW, BUT HE SAID THAT HE WAS THE SON OF A  
CLERK ... THE LEADER SAID IF SYERYOSHKA HAD  
DECEIVED THE GROUP, HE CAN DECEIVE THE  
WORKING CLASS, AND, AFTER ALL, AUNTIE KLARA,  
IT'S BAD TO DECEIVE THE WORKING CLASS ...

KLARA: MUST BE BAD, IF YOUR LEADER  
SAYS SO.

NATASHA: I BET YOU DON'T KNOW WHO IS  
THE MOST IMPORTANT LEADER. DO YOU? BUT I  
KNOW. THE MOST IMPORTANT LEADER IS -- THE  
PARTY ...

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1703

## DAYS OF THE TURBINS

By MICHAEL BULOANOV

IT IS BETWEEN DIFFERENT REACTIONARY  
MILITARY GROUPS STRUGGLING FOR SUPREMACY IN  
THE UKRAINE. ~~THE BOLSHEVIST~~ REVOLUTION  
RUMBLES AND THUNDERS UNDER THE VERY WINDOWS  
OF THE TURBIN FAMILY. BUT THERE IS NOT A  
SINGLE ~~BOLSHEVIST~~ OR NEAR-BOLSHEVIST CHARACTER  
ON THE STAGE. THE TURBIN BROTHERS AND  
THEIR COMRADES-IN-ARMS ARE ENLISTED UNDER THE  
BANNER OF HETMAN SKOROPATSKY AT A MOMENT  
WHEN THE FORCES OF HETMAN PETLIURA ARE  
ADVANCING UPON KIEV. THE TRAGEDY OF THE  
TURBINS IS THAT THEY NOT ONLY LOSE THEIR WAR  
BUT LOSE THEIR FAITH IN THE CAUSE FOR WHICH  
THEY ARE FIGHTING.

WRITTEN IN 1925 AND FIRST PRODUCED BY  
THE MOSCOW ART THEATRE IN OCTOBER, 1926.  
"DAYS OF THE TURBINS" HAS BEEN AN OBJECT

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1704

OF BITTER CONTROVERSY EVER SINCE. ( BECAUSE  
THE TSARIST TYPES WHICH IT PORTRAYS ARE  
PRESENTED IN A SYMPATHETIC LIGHT. THE PLAY  
WAS ATTACHED AS POLITICALLY HARMFUL. ( EARLY  
IN 1928 IT WAS BANNED FROM THE BOARDS AND IT  
WAS NOT RESTORED UNTIL FOUR YEARS LATER. ( IN  
1932. AT PRESENT IT IS ONE OF THE MOST  
POPULAR PLAYS ON THE MOSCOW ART THEATRE  
REPERTORY AND RECEIVES OCCASIONAL PRODUCTION  
IN Leningrad AND OTHER CITIES.

( BULGAKOV'S FAULT, FROM THE COMMUNIST  
VIEWPOINT, ( WAS THAT HE SHOWED WHITE GUARDS  
WHO WERE NOT BLACKGUARDS; ( THAT HE WAS MORE  
CONCERNED WITH THE NOBILITY OF HIS CHARA-  
( CTERS AS INDIVIDUALS THAN WITH THEIR VILLAINY  
AS A CLASS. ( TIME HAS DULLED THE EDGE OF  
THESE OBJECTIONS. THE PLAY HAS TAKEN ITS  
PLACE AS A TRUE AND PROFOUND PICTURE OF ITS  
TIME AND ITS PEOPLE.

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1705

MICHAEL BULGAKOV WAS BORN IN KIEV, IN  
1891, THE SON OF A PROFESSOR AT THE THEO-  
LOGICAL ACADEMY OF THAT OLD CITY. HE WAS  
BROUGHT UP AMONG THE KIND OF RUSS IANS, THE  
'INTELLIGENTSIA,' WHOM HE SHOWS SO ACCURATELY  
IN THIS PLAY AND OTHER WORKS. AT THE AGE OF  
TWENTY-FIVE HE RECEIVED A DEGREE IN MEDICINE,  
BUT HE WAS ALREADY MORE INTERESTED IN WRITING  
AND PRACTICED MEDICINE ONLY A SHORT TIME.

## CHARACTERS

TURBIN, ALEXEI: COLONEL OF ARTILLERY.

TURBIN, NIKOLAI (NIKOLKA): HIS BROTHER.

TURBIN, ELENA: THEIR SISTER.

LARIOSIK: THEIR PROVINCIAL COUSIN.

TALBERG, VLADIMIR: ELENA'S HUSBAND.

LISHAYEVSKY, VICTOR: AN ARTILLERY CAPTAIN.

SHERVINSKY, LEONID: LIEUTENANT; PERSONAL  
ADJUTANT TO THE UKRAINIAN HETMAN.

STUDEINSKY, ALEXANDER: A CAPTAIN OF ARTILLERY

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1706

HSTL:NI:

I HAVE JUST LEARNED THAT PETLIURA'S  
CAVALRY HAS BROKEN THROUGH THE FRONT OF THE  
CITY. IN ADDITION I HAVE SOME QUITE INCREDIBLE  
NEWS FROM THE STAFF OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY COMMAND.  
THE STAFF OF THE RUSSIAN COMMAND HAS DISGRACE-  
FULLY DESERTED. DAS IST JA UNERHÖRT!  
I WISH TO MAKE THROUGH YOU THE FOLLOWING  
APPEAL TO THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT. THE  
UKRAINE IS IN EXTREME DANGER. PETLIURA'S  
BANDS THREATEN TO CAPTURE THE CAPITAL.  
IF THIS HAPPENS, AN ORGY OF ANARCHY IS  
INEVITABLE IN THE CAPITAL. I AM THEREFORE  
ASKING THE GERMAN COMMAND TO SEND ME  
IMMEDIATELY FORCES SUFFICIENT TO REPULSE THE  
BANDS OF INVADERS AND TO RESTORE ORDER IN  
THE UKRAINE WHICH IS A CORDIAL FRIEND OF  
GERMANY.

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1707

SHERVINSKY:

CLEAN GERMAN PIECE OF WORK! (WELL,

THEN, OUT OF HERE! NO TIME, NO TIME!

OH, A GOLD CIGARETTE-CASE! THE HETMAN HAS

FORGOTTEN IT! TO LEAVE IT HERE? IMPOSSIBLE.

THE VALET WILL STEAL IT. (OHC...WEIGHS

ABOUT A POUND -- OF HISTORICAL VALUE. NOW,

AS FOR THESE PAPERS -- I SHALL BURN NONE OF

THEM EXCEPT THE LIST OF ADJUTANTS. (SO...AM

I A SWINE OR AM I NOT A SWINE...NO, I AM NOT

A SWINE. S-I-S-S. IS THIS THE DIVISION?

PLEASE CALL THE COMMANDER TO THE TELEPHONE

AT ONCE. (WAKE HIM UP. COLONEL TURBIN,

SHERVINSKY TALKING. ALEXEI VASILIEVICH,

LISTEN CAREFULLY. THE HETMAN HAS SNEAKED

OFF. SNEAKED AWAY, I TELL YOU! NO, WE

HAVE TIME TILL DAWN.

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1700

ALEXEI:

LISTEN TO ME, YOU TWO WANT TO GO TO THE  
DON. EVEN IF YOU EVER REACH IT, YOU WILL  
FIND THE SAME OLD S THING! YOU'LL FIND THE  
SAME OLD S THING, AND THE SAME STAFF GANG!

LINGLING:

THE SAME SWINE!

ALEXEI:

RIGHT YOU ARE! THEY WILL SET YOU TO  
FIGHTING AGAINST YOUR OWN PEOPLE. (AND WHEN  
YOUR PEOPLE HAVE BROKEN YOUR NECKS, YOUR  
GENERALS WILL RUN AWAY FROM YOU. I KNOW THAT  
ON THE DON THING IS THE SAME OLD S THING.  
THERE, TOO, THE DIVISIONS ARE WITHOUT  
MUNITIONS: THE CADETS ARE DISARMED WHILE  
THEIR OFFICERS LOUNGE IN CAFES. (LISTEN,  
MY FRIENDS: (TO ME, AS A FIGHTING OFFICER,  
HAS BEEN ENTRUSTED THE TASK OF THROWING YOU  
INTO BATTLE. IF ONLY THERE WERE SOMETHING TO

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1709

FIGHT FOR...BUT THERE I DON'T. I DECLINE  
BEFORE THE WORLD THAT I WILL NEITHER LEAD YOU  
NOR LET YOU BE LED...I TELL YOU THAT THE WHITE  
GUARD IN THE UKRAINE HAS COLLAPSED. IT HAS  
FALLEN TO PIECES IN THE EAST, ON THE DON...  
EVERYWHERE. DEAD...BURIED! AND HERE AM I,  
A PROFESSIONAL OFFICER, ALEXSI TURBIN, WHO  
HAS GONE THROUGH THE WHOLE WAR AGAINST  
GERMANY. AS CAPTAINS STODOLSKY AND NIKOLAYEVSKY  
CAN ATTEST. I TAKE EVERYTHING ON MY OWN  
CONSCIENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY. EVERYTHING.  
I TAKE SOMETHING ON MYSELF. AND I SEND YOU  
HOME BECAUSE I LOVE YOU! TEAR OFF YOUR  
SHOULDER-STRAPS. THROW AWAY YOUR RIFLES AND  
RUN HOME...AT ONCE.

NIKOLKA:

INSULT YOUR OWN BROTHER? I KNOW WHY  
YOU ARE LINGERING HERE! I KNOW WHY! YOU  
ARE WAITING FOR DEATH BECAUSE OF THIS

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1710

TERRIBLE DISGRACE. THAT'S IT! ALL RIGHT.

THEN, I'LL WATCH YOU. OTHERWISE LENOCHKA

WILL KILL ME!

ALEXEI:

LISTEN TO MY COMMAND! RUN  
THROUGH THE BARRENT PASSAGES AND GET AWAY.  
TEAR OFF YOUR SHOULDER-STRAPS ON THE WAY.  
RUN! RUN! I'LL COVER YOU.

ALEXEI: RUN! FOR ITY'S SAKE! HAVE  
MERCY ON LENOCHKA!

ALEXEI: CORPORAL TURBIN, TO HELL WITH HEROISM...

MISHLAYEVSKY:

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH! I'VE BEEN FIGHTING SINCE  
1914. WHAT FOR? FOR MY FATHERLAND. ALL  
RIGHT. BUT AFTER THESE EXCELLENCIES ABANDONED  
US SO SHAMEFULLY, SHALL I GO BACK TO THOSE

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1711

EXCELLENCIES? NO. THAT'S ENOUGH! HERE IT

IS. A FIG TO THEM!

KISHLAYEVSKY:

( I'M GOING TO SAY WHAT I HAVE TO SAY  
PLAINLY ENOUGH. BEST ASSURED DO YOU THINK  
I AM AN IDIOT? NO. I, VICTOR KISHLAYEVSKY,

( ANNOUNCES THAT I HAVE NO FURTHER DEALINGS WITH  
SCOUNDRELL GENERALS. I'M THROUGH!

( HERE'S WHY! BECAUSE...BECAUSE PSTLIURA,  
HOW MANY DID YOU SAY HE HAD -- TWO HUNDRED  
THOUSAND MEN? WELL, THOSE TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND  
MEN, AS SOON AS THEY HEARD THE WORD BOLSHIEVICS  
TOOK TO THEIR HEELS AS FAST AS THEY COULD.

( DID YOU SEE IT? CLEAN WORK! BECAUSE BEHIND  
THE BOLSHIEVICS OUR GODLY PEASANTS FOLLOW LIKE  
A CLOUD OF GLORY. ( AND WITH WHAT CAN I RESIST

THEM? WITH MILITARY RIDING-BREECHES! THEY  
SIMPLY CAN'T BEAR THE SIGHT OF THESE BREECHES

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1713

KASTALSKY: IN YOUR PARTY RECORDS YOU  
HAVE STATED THAT YOUR FATHER WAS A PETTY  
POSTAL CLERK. THAT'S ALL. RATHER, THAT  
WAS NOT ALL YOU SAID. YOU ALSO STATED THAT  
YOUR MOTHER WAS A TOWNSWOMAN AND THAT SHE DIED  
OF STARVATION IN CANADA IN THE YEAR '21.  
DO? AND IN 1922 YOU GOT A JOB IN A FACTORY.  
YOU WORKED THERE TILL 1925, AND THEN YOU  
JOINED THE PARTY. YOU WERE ASSIGNED TO THE  
UNIVERSITY, AND FROM THERE AS A GRADUATE  
STUDENT YOU CAME TO OUR INSTITUTE. SO? AS  
YOU SEE, I AM RATHER WELL-INFORMED. BUT  
ALL OF THIS IS QUITE BESIDE THE POINT.  
MOST RESPECTED SON OF A MILITARY PROSECUTOR!

KASTALSKY: GOD BLESS YOU! THIS IS NOT  
WHY I HAVE COME HERE. I HEREBY WANTED TO  
WARN YOU, AS ONE BROTHER WOULD NATURALLY WARN  
ANOTHER. DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT, NIKOLAI

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1714

PETROVITCH. HIDING YOUR TRUE SOCIAL ORIGIN  
WHEN YOU ENTER THE PARTY IS PUNISHABLE BY  
EXPULSION FROM THE PARTY. BE CAREFUL! AND  
FORGIVE THE INTERFERENCE OF A MEDDLESOME  
BYSTANDER. I WILL NEVER AGAIN BOTHER YOU  
WITH ANY REFERENCE TO THE SUBJECT. YOU MAY  
SLEEP IN PEACE.

TSEKHOVCI: HE IS LYING! HE IS LYING!...  
AND YET -- I HAVE WORKED IN A FACTORY FOR THREE  
YEARS, AND FIVE YEARS IN THE PARTY ... FIVE  
YEARS IN THE PARTY! ... THREE YEARS AS A  
FACTORY WORKER! ... I'LL GO TO THE CONTROL  
COMMISSION AND MAKE A CLEAN BREAST OF IT ALL --  
TELL THEM JUST WHAT HAPPENED AND HOW IT  
HAPPENED !! LET THEM PASS JUDGMENT ON ME.  
THEY WILL UNDERSTAND. THEY WILL FORGIVE ME.  
THEY MIGHT DEMOTE ME, BUT THAT'S ALL RIGHT ...  
I'LL COME AND MAKE A CLEAN BREAST OF IT ...  
THREE YEARS IN THE FACTORY ... FIVE YEARS IN

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1715.

THE PARTY ... MY MOTHER'S ALIVE ... NOBODY  
CAN FRIGHTEN ME! ... I'LL MAKE A CLEAN BREAST  
OF EVERYTHING! THREE YEARS AT A BENCH IN  
THE FACTORY. FIVE YEARS IN THE PARTY! THAT  
IS THE THING! THAT'S WHAT TELLS THE WHOLE  
STORY!

NATASHA: PAPA! PAPA! PAPA! WHERE  
HAVE YOU GONE? WHERE ARE YOU? YOU HAVE  
DECEIVED THE WORKING CLASS! YOU HAVE DECEIVED  
THE LEADER! MY PAPA ...

BORODIN: TELL US YOUR CONCLUSIONS,  
PROFESSOR BOBROV.

BOBROV: I HAVE KEPT QUIET FOR A LONG  
TIME. IF ANYTHING, I HAVE BEEN ALTOGETHER  
TOO PATIENT. I'VE KEPT MY PEACE TOO LONG.  
THE PRESTIGE OF IVAN ILYITCH, MY PERSONAL

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1716

RELATIONS WITH HIM. FAMILY ETHICS. FAMILY  
LOYALTY ... IT IS NOT EASY FOR ME TO RAISE  
MY HAND AGAINST PROFESSOR BORODIN ... BUT  
IVAN ILYITCH IS COMMITTING A GRAVE SCIENTIFIC  
ERROR. HE IS INTENT ON EXPLAINING THE  
BEHAVIOR OF PEOPLE BY THE SIMPLEST ANIMAL  
STIMULI. THIS ERROR IS THE RESULT OF HIS  
POLITICAL VIEWS. IT IS AGAINST THIS THAT I  
MUST TAKE MY STAND.

KASTALSKY: GO ON, YOU DISCIPLE OF A  
SABOTAGER!

KIMBAYEV: WHAT DID YOU SAY? REPEAT  
WHAT YOU SAID!

BOBROV: HAVE YOU READ MY LETTER ABOUT  
KOTOMIN?

TSEKHOVOI: THAT'S A BELATED CONFESSION.

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1717

ELENA: WE ARE DISCUSSING THE LABORATORY,  
AND ANY REFERENCE TO KOTOMIN IS BESIDE THE  
POINT -- QUITE IRRELEVANT. WE PROTEST AGAINST  
BORODIN'S ATTITUDE. YOU ARE CONCERNED WITH  
THE BEHAVIOR OF MAN IN GENERAL, IRRESPECTIVE  
OF HIS CLASS CONNECTIONS. YOU ARE INTERESTED  
ONLY IN CLASSLESS ETERNAL STIMULI. FROM THAT  
POINT OF VIEW THE REVOLUTION MAY APPEAR TO BE  
THE RESULT OF RAGE. SOCIALIST COMPETITION  
MAY BE EXPLAINED BY SEXUAL ACTIVITY, AND  
SHOCK-BRIGADING AS THE RESULT OF HUNGER.  
BUT THIS IS TO US A THEORY UTTERLY FOREIGN  
AND POLITICALLY HARMFUL.

BORODIN: YOU CANNOT POSSIBLY KNOW WHAT  
CONCLUSIONS WILL BE REACHED -- BECAUSE I DON'T  
KNOW THEM YET MYSELF ...

BOBROV: THE CONCLUSIONS HAVE BEEN  
SUGGESTED BY KASTALSKY. HE WANTS TO DISCREDIT

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1718

THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF GOVERNING PEOPLE.

KASTALSKY: SHUT UP, YOU SCOUNDREL!

THE NERVE OF HIM, LIBELLING ME SO SHAME-  
LESSLY! A JEALOUS HUSBAND — A CAMOUFLAGED  
SABOTAGER! AND SO HE TAKES HIS REVENGE  
AGAINST A DEFENCELESS GRADUATE STUDENT ...

ELENA: SHUT UP, YOU DIAMOND BARRING!

KASTALSKY: CHAIRMAN! I WANT YOU TO  
ARREST BOBROV ON THE CHARGE OF CRIMINAL LIBEL!  
I INSIST THAT IT BE ENTERED IN THE MINUTES.  
HE'S PERSECUTING ME. AND I DEMAND ...

BORODIN: I'M COMING NOW TO THE END OF  
MY LECTURE. YOU HAVE SEEN IN THE CASE OF THE  
RABBITS THAT AT THE BASIS OF THEIR BEHAVIOR  
ARE THE STIMULI THAT ROUSE THEM. WHENEVER  
WE SUCCEEDED IN DISCOVERING A CERTAIN STIMULUS,  
WE ARE ABLE TO ALTER BEHAVIOR BY INFLUENCING

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1719

THAT PARTICULAR STIMULUS. ANALOGOUSLY, WE  
ARE ABLE TO DISCOVER THE RULING STIMULUS OF A  
SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT AND THUS FORECAST THE PATH  
OF DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOR. THE TIME  
IS COMING WHEN THIS SCIENCE WILL TAKE THE  
PLACE OF POLITICS. WE HAVE DECIDED TO BRING  
AS MUCH GOOD AS WE CAN TO OUR COUNTRY AND TO  
ANALYZE WHAT STIMULI LIE AT THE BASE OF THE  
BEHAVIOR OF CONTEMPORARY MAN. TOGETHER  
WITH COMRADES WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY -- AND AMONG THEM I WANT TO NOTE ESPECIALLY  
THE ENERGETIC CO-OPERATION OF NIKOLAI  
PETROVITCH TSEKHCHOV -- WE HAVE MANAGED TO  
MAKE A SURVEY -- AN OBJECTIVE SURVEY -- OF  
SEVERAL HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS OF VARIOUS SOCIAL  
STRATA ... I WILL NOT TOUCH UPON THE METHODS  
AND THE RESULTS OF THIS INVESTIGATION.  
THOSE WHO ARE INTERESTED MAY STUDY THE MATERIAL  
AT THEIR LEISURE. I SHOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT,

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1720

HOWEVER, THAT THE COMMON STIMULUS OF THE BE-

HAVIOR OF EIGHTY PER CENT OF ALL THOSE

INVESTIGATED WAS -- FEAR.

THE WORK OF THORNDIKE, WATSON, LASHLEY,

AND OTHERS LEADS US TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE

UNCONDITIONED STIMULUS WHICH CALLS FORTH FEAR

IS EITHER -- A LOUD NOISE OR LOSS OF SUPPORT.

EIGHTY PERCENT OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN STUDIED

LIVE UNDER THE CONSTANT FEAR OF AN OUTCRY

OR THE FEAR OF LOSING SOCIAL SECURITY. THE

MILK-WOMAN IS AFRAID THAT HER COW WILL BE

CONFISCATED; THE PEASANT IS AFRAID OF

COMPULSORY COLLECTIVIZATION; THE SOVIET WORKER

IS AFRAID OF THE ENDLESS PURGINGS; THE PARTY

WORKER IS AFRAID THAT HE WILL BE ACCUSED OF

DEVIATIONS; THE SCIENTIFIC WORKER IS AFRAID

THAT HE WILL BE ACCUSED OF IDEALISM; THE

TECHNICAL WORKER IS AFRAID THAT HE WILL BE

ACCUSED OF SABOTAGE. WE LIVE IN AN EPOCH

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1721

OF GREAT FEAR. FEAR COMPELS TALENTED INTELLE-  
TUALS TO RENOUNCE THEIR MOTHERS, TO FAKE  
THEIR SOCIAL ORIGIN, TO WANGLE THEIR WAY  
INTO HIGH POSITIONS. YES, YES. IN HIGH  
PLACES THE FEAR OF EXPOSURE IS NOT SO GREAT.  
BUT FEAR STALKS EVERYONE. MAN BECOMES SUS-  
PICIOUS -- SHUT IN -- DISHONEST -- CARELESS --  
AND UNPRINCIPLED. FEAR GIVES RISE TO  
ABSENCES FROM WORK, TO THE LATENESS OF TRAINS,  
TO BREAKDOWNS IN INDUSTRY, TO GENERAL POVERTY  
AND HUNGER. NO ONE ATTEMPTS ANYTHING WITH-  
OUT AN OUTCRY, WITHOUT HAVING HIS NAME IN-  
SCRIBED ON A BLACKBOARD, WITHOUT THE THREAT OF  
ARREST OR EXILE. THE RABBIT WHO HAS BEEN  
A BOA CONSTRICTOR IS UNABLE TO MOVE FROM THE  
SPOT. HIS MUSCLES PETRIFY. HE WAITS, SUB-  
MISSIVELY, UNTIL THE RINGS OF THE BOA CONST-  
RICTOR SQUEEZE HIM AND CRUSH HIM. ALL OF  
US ARE RABBITS ... IN VIEW OF THIS, CAN WE

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1722

WORK CREATIVELY? OF COURSE NOT! THE  
OTHER TWENTY PER CENT OF THOSE WHO ARE  
INVESTIGATED ARE THE VYDVESHENTSY. THEY  
HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR. THEY ARE THE MASTERS  
OF THE COUNTRY. THEY WALK INTO INSTITU-  
TIONS AND INTO SCIENCES WITH A PROUD FACE.  
CLATTERING THEIR BOOTS, LAUGHING LUSTILY,  
TALKING SONOROUSLY. BUT THEIR BRAIN IS  
AFRAID FOR THEM. THE BRAIN OF PEOPLE  
ACCUSTOMED TO PHYSICAL LABOR IS AFRAID TO  
CARRY TOO GREAT A BURDEN. AND THERE DEVELOPS  
A PERSECUTION MANIA. THEY ARE ALWAYS  
STRIVING TO CATCH UP AND TO OVERTAKE EVERYONE;  
AND, CHOKING IN THIS SMILELESS RACE, THIS  
BRAIN EITHER GOES INSANE OR SLOWLY DEGENERATES.  
DESTROY FEAR -- DESTROY EVERYTHING THAT  
OCCASIONS FEAR -- AND YOU WILL SEE WITH WHAT  
A RICH CREATIVE LIFE OUR COUNTRY WILL BLOSSOM  
FORTH! WITH YOUR PERMISSION, I SHALL STOP  
HERE.

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1723

VARGASOV: I DID EVERYTHING UNDER HIS  
INSTRUCTIONS. I COLLECTED SIGNATURES FOR  
THE APPEAL BY HIS ORDERS. THEN HE ORDERED ME  
TO SEND THE APPEAL ABROAD. HE SAID THAT THIS  
WAS THE PROGRAM OF OUR SCIENTIFIC PARTY.  
BUT WHAT KIND OF PROGRAM IT WAS AND WHO TOOK  
PART IN IT AND WHY. I DON'T KNOW. I WAS  
NOT INITIATED INTO THESE MYSTERIES.

WOMAN INVESTIGATOR: GO!

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1724

## BREAD

By VLADIMIR KIRSHON

THE AUTUMN AND WINTER OF 1929-30 REMAIN  
MEMORABLE IN SOVIET HISTORY. IT WAS THEN  
THAT THE KREMLIN WAS PUSHING THROUGH ITS  
HEAD-LONG AND COSTLY COLLECTIVIZATION OF  
AGRICULTURE, WITH THE ACCOMPANIMENT OF THE  
'LIQUIDATION OF THE KULAKS AS A CLASS,'  
INTENSE CLASS WARFARE IN THE VILLAGES AND THE  
EMERGENCE OF A NEW OPPOSITION IN THE COMMUNIST  
RANKS.

VLADIMIR KIRSHON TOOK A PERSONAL SHARE  
IN THE DRIVE, AS A COMMUNIST VOLUNTEER IN  
THE VILLAGES. FRESH FROM THE SCENES OF  
STRUGGLE, HE WROTE "BREAD" IN THE SPRING  
OF 1930. THE PLAY WAS CONSEQUENTLY AS TOPICAL  
AS A NEWS REPORT. IT WAS AN ARGUMENT IN  
DRAMATIC FORM FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY 'LINE'

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ON THE 'AGRARIAN FRONT,' AND AN ATTACK ON  
COMMUNISTS WHO 'DEVIATED' FROM THAT LINE.

"BREAD" IS AN ALMOST PERFECT EXAMPLE OF  
THE AGITATIONAL OR PROPAGANDA TYPE OF SOVIET  
DRAMA. IT IS A SORT OF SOVIET MORALITY PLAY.  
MIKHAILOV IS THE INCARNATION OF THE PARTY  
LINE; RAYEVSKY IS EQUALLY THE EMBODIMENT OF  
POLITICAL HERESY IN THE RANKS; KVARTCOV IS  
THE ARCH-TYPE OF VILLAINOUS KULAK OR WELL-TO-  
DO PEASANT. KIRSHON'S GREAT TECHNICAL  
SKILL AS A PLAYWRIGHT, HOWEVER, HAS TURNED  
WHAT IS ESSENTIALLY A POLITICAL EDITORIAL  
INTO A LIVING HUMAN DRAMA.

BORN IN Leningrad in 1902, KIRSHON WAS  
ONLY FIFTEEN WHEN THE REVOLUTION CAME. HE  
JOINED THE COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE AND FOUGHT  
ON THE CAUCASIAN FRONT IN THE CIVIL WARS.

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BY 1920 HE WAS A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY AND ACTIVE IN ITS WORK. AND IN THE  
FOLLOWING YEARS HE COMPLETED A COURSE AT THE  
SVERDLOV COMMUNIST UNIVERSITY.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF HIS LITERARY  
CAREER HE WAS THEREFORE AMONG THE LEADING  
EXPONENTS OF ORTHODOX COMMUNIST TENETS IN  
THE DOMAIN OF ART. IN 1925 HE ORGANIZED  
FIRST THE ROSTOV AND THEN THE NORTH CAU-  
CASUS ASSOCIATION OF PROLETARIAN WRITERS AND  
LATER HE BECAME ONE OF THE GUIDING SPIRITS  
OF THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION, THE RUSSIAN  
ASSOCIATION OF PROLETARIAN WRITERS (RAPP).  
AT PRESENT, RAPP HAVING BEEN DISSOLVED BY  
THE GOVERNMENT, HE IS A MEMBER OF THE PRESIDUM  
OF ITS SUCCESSOR, THE UNION OF SOVIET WRITERS.

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## CHARACTERS

MIKHAILOV, DMITRI: SECRETARY OF THE  
REGIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

OLGA: HIS WIFE.

RAYEVSKY, PAVEL: A NEWLY ARRIVAL  
DELEGATE TO THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE.

ZOTOVA: SECRETARY OF THE LOCAL COMMUNIST  
YOUTH LEAGUE.

DYEDOV, MIKHAIL: CHAIRMAN OF THE VILLAGE  
SOVIET.

RAYEVSEY: THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES?

THERE'S NO MORE EUROPE. ONLY THE STEEPLE OF

RIFFEL TOWER IS STILL SCRAPING THE SKY.

AND A PEAK OF THE ALPS. THE REST IS SHUT

OUT FROM VIEW BY OUR RUSSIAN HATS.

MIKHAILOV: SO YOU'RE OFFENDED BECAUSE  
I'VE INSULTED THE OLD LADY?

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1720

RAYEVSKY: I'M IRRITATED BY OUR  
IMMEMORIALY STUPID AND SHEERING ATTITUDE  
TOWARDS ALL THOSE THINGS ABOUT WHICH WE KNOW  
NOTHING.

MIKHAILOV: YOU'VE BECOME NEUROTIC!

RAYEVSKY: I'M INCENSED BECAUSE YOU  
ARE NOT THE FIRST WHO HAS SPOKEN TO ME IN THIS  
VEIN. THEY CAN STILL TEACH US A THING  
OR TWO. THESE EUROPEANS. HITKA. I COULD  
SHOOT ALL THOSE VULGARIANS WHO SEE AND  
HEAR NOTHING BUT THE MUSIC OF THE FOXTROT IN  
EUROPE...

MIKHAILOV: WERE YOU IN GERMANY?

RAYEVSKY: IN BERLIN, HAMBURG, DRESDEN...  
THE WHOLE COUNTRY IS WORKING LIKE A WELL-OILED,  
GLISTENING MACHINE. YOU TAKE A PLANE AT

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1729

KONIGSBERG. AND ALL GERMANY IS SPREAD BEFORE

YOUR EYES LIKE THE MECHANISM OF A WATCH.

THE MACHINES ROAR INCESSEANTLY. THE THUNDER

OF THE MANY UNDERGROUND RAILWAYS SHAKES THE

EARTH. THAT'S SOMETHING WORTH LISTENING

TO!

RAYEVSKY: ALL DEMONSTRATIONS ARE DIS-

PERSED. LARGE OR SMALL. I WENT TO THE

REICHSTAG WITH A CROWD OF UNEMPLOYED. THE

POLICE BEAT US WITH RUBBER CLUBS AND WITH

THE BUTTS OF THEIR REVOLVERS. ONE OF MY

ARMS WAS BROKEN. AND I BARELY MANAGED TO

ELUDE THE SCHUTZ-POLIZEI.

MIKHAILOV: WHAT A WASTED GESTURE!

YOU SHOULDN'T HAVE GONE.

RAYEVSKY: YOU THINK I SHOULD HAVE

STEPPED ASIDE AND WATCHED FROM THE SIDELINES

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1730

HOW THE WORKERS WERE BEING CLUBBED?

MIKHAILOV: / IF YOU HAD BEEN CAUGHT  
BY THE SCHUTZ-POLITSI. THE GERMAN POLICE  
COULD HAVE FURNISHED SOME FABLES ABOUT RUSSIAN  
SPIES WHO ORGANIZED WORKERS' DEMONSTRATIONS.  
BELIEVE ME, THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE HARM-  
FUL THAN YOUR STANDING IDLE.

RAYEVSKY: YOU HAVE A VERY LEVEL HEAD.  
BUT THESE ARE TIMES. IF YOU KNOW WHAT I  
MEAN. WHEN REACHED BEHAVIOR BORDERS ON THE  
CRIMINAL.

OLGA: DMITRI, I AM SURE, WOULD NOT  
HAVE GONE TO THE REICHSTAG.

MIKHAILOV: YOU'RE RIGHT. UNREASONED  
BEHAVIOR, IT SEEMS TO ME, IS ALWAYS CRIMINAL.

RAYEVSKY: THEN I'M A CRIMINAL. BUT

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1731

IF THE SAME SITUATION WERE TO BE REPEATED  
TOMORROW, I WOULD AGAIN THROW MYSELF IN  
FRONT OF THE SCHUTZ-POLIZEI'S CLUBS TOGETHER  
WITH THE GERMAN WORKERS. (I'D LET YOU DO THE  
WATCHING WHILE WE WERE BEING BEATEN.

RAYEVSKY: SO MUCH HAS CHANGED IN RUSSIA  
DURING THE LAST FEW YEARS. ON THE FACES  
OF MY FRIENDS I SEE DULL AND FATAL REFLECTIONS  
OF THE LAST RAYS OF THE SUNSET. OUR PEOPLE  
HAD BEEN ON FIRE. NOW THEY ARE SHOULDERING....  
I LOOK AT HIM....AND I WANT TO CRY. HE  
WAS ONCE A WHITE WINGED HORSE....HE WANTED  
TO RIDE TO BERLIN ON THIS HORSE....AND NOW...

RAYEVSKY: IT'S ALL VERY COMPLEX, OLGA.  
I HAVEN'T HAD TO EXPLAIN BEFORE. PICTURE A  
CROWD. A CROWD COMPOSED OF IDENTICAL  
PEOPLE, A CROWD COMPOSED OF STANDARDIZED

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1732

PEOPLE. THEY ARE ALL WEARING NECK-TIES OF  
THE SAME COLOR. THEY ARE ALL TALKING IN  
THE SAME DIRECTION. THEY ALL SPEAK THE  
SAME MEASURED WORDS. I DON'T WANT TO BE  
ONE OF THIS CROWD. ( THERE ARE TIMES WHEN  
I'M HORRIFIED AT THE THOUGHT THAT EACH DAY I  
PUT ON THE SAME KIND OF NECKTIE AS EVERYONE ELSE  
IS WEARING. BUT I KNOW A FEELING WHICH  
IS EVEN MORE TERRIFYING. PICTURE, OLGA,  
THIS CROWD GOING BY WITHOUT YOU. AND THAT  
YOU ARE LEFT ALONE, ALL ALONE WITH YOUR  
THOUGHTS, WITH YOUR DOUBTS, WHILE THE  
COLUMNS KEEP PASSING BY. THEY PASS BY  
FOREVER WITHOUT YOU. THEY REITERATE THEIR  
WORDS. THEY SING THEIR SONGS. NOT A  
SINGLE ONE OF THEM TURNS HIS GAZE IN YOUR  
DIRECTION. THEIR MEASURED WORDS ARE MERCY-  
LESS. AND PRECISELY BECAUSE I MYSELF AM  
FILLED WITH THOUGHTS WHICH ARE NOT ATTACHED TO

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1733

THOSE OF THE OTHERS. WITH EMOTIONS WHICH  
DO NOT CORRESPOND TO THOSE OF MY COMPANIONS.  
I CANNOT STEP OUT OF THE RINGS. I DARE NOT  
LEAVE. I MUST FEEL ANOTHER SHOULDER NEXT  
TO MINE. I NEED SOMEONE TO GIVE ME ORDERS.  
SOMEONE TO DISCIPLINE ME. I CAN'T GET  
ALONG WITHOUT THOSE IRON FETTERS WHICH WELD  
TOGETHER THE DIVERGE SIDES OF MY 'I.'

OLGA: OH, YES, CERTAINLY! THERE IS  
THE RESOLUTION ISSUED BY THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE.  
HE'S NOT THE ONLY ONE WHO'S GOING. IT IS  
THE WILL OF THE PARTY. THE PEOPLE NEED  
BREAD. WELL, SPEAK, SPEAK! YOU'RE  
NEVER AT A LOSS FOR WORDS. CLEVER, INGENIOUS  
WORDS, LIKE THE HEADLINES OF YOUR ARTICLES...  
'PEASANTS! THE PARTY IS SOUNDING ITS TRUMPET...'

MIKHAILOV: ARE YOU ILL?

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1734

OLGA: CERTAINLY I'M ILL. ISN'T THAT  
SELF-EVIDENT? JUST FEEL MY BROW, SEE IF  
I HAVEN'T A FEVER. HOW SIMPLE LIFE IS,  
MIKHAILOV. OLGA IS SICK. PAVEL IS HUNGRY.  
THE PARTY IS SOUNDING ITS TRUMPET.

MIKHAILOV: WHAT TRUMPET ARE YOU TALKING  
ABOUT? GET HOLD OF YOURSELF, OLGA.

OLGA: JUST ONCE, MIKHAILOV, JUST  
ONCE. STOP BEING THE SECRETARY OF THE  
REGIONAL COMMITTEE FOR ONE SECOND. TELL ME  
HONESTLY, LOOKING ME STRAIGHT IN THE EYES.  
ARE YOU SENDING PAVEL AWAY BECAUSE YOU'RE  
JEALOUS? WELL, GO ON, ANSWER ME!

MIKHAILOV: YOUR QUESTION IS INSANE.

OLGA: WHY INSANE? WHY ARE YOU  
HIDING, DMITRI? DON'T YOU THINK I CAN SENSE

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1735

THIS? I KNOW YOUR HIDDEN THOUGHTS. YOU  
WANT TO GET HIM OUT OF THE WAY! HONORABLE  
PEOPLE SEIZE EACH OTHER BY THE THROAT IN OPEN  
BATTLE. THEY FIGHT WITH THE SAME WEAPONS.  
BUT YOU -- YOU ARE THE SECRETARY OF THE  
REGIONAL COMMITTEE. YOU CAN GET YOUR  
FRIEND OUT OF THE WAY BECAUSE SUCH IS THE  
'WILL' OF THE PARTY. A TRAVELLING PASS FOR  
PAVEL RAYEVSKY! FORGIVE ME. I SUSPECTED  
YOU OF FEELINGS WHICH ARE NOT NATURAL TO YOU.  
NO, NOT NATURAL, BECAUSE YOU ARE COMPLETELY  
DEVOID OF FEELINGS OF ANY KIND. I HAD FOR-  
GOTTEN THAT YOUR ATTITUDE IS LAID DOWN ONLY  
ON RESOLUTIONS, DECREES, REGULATIONS.  
I IMAGINED, FOR SOME REASON, THAT YOU HAD  
SUDDENLY TURNED INTO A HUMAN BEING; THAT YOU  
HAD DEVIATED, FOR A MOMENT, FROM THE SET  
OF PARTY PRINCIPLES YOU HAVE TRANSFORMED  
YOURSELF INTO. YOU'RE NOT A MAN -- JUST A

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1736

SET OF PARTY PRINCIPLES. DO YOU HEAR?

YOU'RE A SET OF PARTY PRINCIPLES!

MIKHAILOV: PARTY PRINCIPLES HAVE THEIR  
DEVIATIONS.

CLGA: THEN YOU'RE NOT EVEN A SET OF PARTY  
PRINCIPLES. YOU NEVER DEVIATE. YOUR  
INSIDES ARE STUFFED WITH PRUDENCE. COMMON-  
SENSE. LOGIC. YOU'RE A WALKING RULE OF  
ORDER. YOUR EXACTITUDE MAKES ME WANT TO  
VOMIT. YOU WOULD LIKE TO MAKE METHODICAL  
ENTRIES OF ALL THE PROBLEMS OF LIFE WITH THE  
APPROPRIATE ANSWERS ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE.  
LIKE THE INTERPRETATIONS OF DREAMS IN A  
DREAM-BOOK. YOU HAVE DRAWN UP AN EMOTIONAL  
TIME-TABLE FOR YOURSELF. AND, LIKE TRAINS,  
YOUR DESIRES AND LONGINGS CAN FOLLOW ONLY ONE  
SET OF RAILWAY TRACKS. AND EVEN THOSE NOT  
BEFORE THE SECOND BELL HAS RUNG. KEEP QUIET!

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1737

MIKHAILOV: I'M NOT INTERRUPTING YOU.

OLGA: I HAVE MORE THAN ONCE TRIED TO  
AROUND YOUR ANGER. YOU NEVER LOSE CONTROL  
OF YOURSELF. I HAVE DONE EVERYTHING I  
COULD TO INSULT YOU. BUT IT IS BEYOND THE  
POWER OF ANY HUMAN BEING TO HURT YOU.  
NOTHING THAT IS OUTSIDE YOUR WORLD OF REPORTS  
AND TELEPHONE ORDERS CAN TOUCH YOU. YOU'RE  
A PARTY AUTOMATON. I CAN'T STAND IT ANY  
LONGER.

LOKTEV: LET US FIRST PREPARE THE  
GROUND -- WE'LL THEN SPEED LESS TIME COLLECTING.  
IT'S DANGEROUS FOR US TO OPEN THE BATTLE  
WITHOUT SOME PRELIMINARY RIGGING. DOWN WITH  
ALL UNNECESSARY SAILS! MAKE SURE THAT THE  
RIGGING IS ALL RIGHT! A STRONG WIND IS  
ON THE WAY!

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1730

RAYEVSKY: AND THE WORKERS, IN THE  
MEANTIME, WILL HAVE TO WAIT? YOU EXPECT  
THEM TO SIT WITHOUT BREAD WHILE YOU'RE ROLLING  
UP YOUR SAILS?

DYEDOV: WHAT IS THERE TO TALK ABOUT?  
IF THE STATE ORDERS US TO GET BREAD, WE'LL  
GET IT. WE'LL CALL A MEETING FOR TOMORROW.  
PERIOD.

LOKTEV: AS YOU PLEASE. BUT WE'LL  
MERELY BE KNOCKING OUR HEADS AGAINST THE WALL,  
COMRADES.

RAYEVSKY: YOU'RE FOLLOWING THE OLD  
WAYS, COMRADE LOKTEV. IT DOES NOT BECOME  
US TO RUN AWAY FROM A FIGHT.

LOKTEV: BUT IT DOES NO HARM TO  
STRENGTHEN ONE'S FORCES BEFORE BEGINNING THE

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1739

FIGHT.

RAYEVSKY: WE'RE LEADING AN ATTACK.

THE PARTY IS BEATING A MARCH.

LOKTEV: ALL THE SAME. I WOULD AT  
LEAST GET THE POOR PEASANTS TOGETHER ONCE OR  
TWICE. AND I WOULD DISCUSS THE SITUATION  
A LITTLE WITH THE MIDDLE PEASANT. TOO. THE  
KULAK WILL MOVE ALL HIS FORCES.

RAYEVSKY: I WASN'T BORN YESTERDAY.  
THE SECRETARY IS A COWARD. SPEND SEVERAL  
DAYS IN CONFERENCES, IN PREPARING THE GROUND!  
I'LL BE ALL THROUGH IN THREE DAYS. FOUR  
VILLAGES HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED TO ME. I'LL  
GO THROUGH TEN WITHIN THE TIME ALLOTTED TO ME.  
I'LL COLLECT MY WHOLE QUOTA LONG BEFORE MY  
TIME IS UP. I'LL SHOW THESE PROVINCIAL  
MOLES WHAT MILITARY TEMPO IS.

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1740

RAYEVSKY: I SPOKE ABOUT THE SACRIFICES  
WHICH WE MUST ALL MAKE FOR THE INDUSTRIALI-  
ZATION OF THE COUNTRY. BUT WE KNOW THAT  
INDUSTRIALIZATION IS FOR THE GOOD OF EVERY-  
BODY, FOR THE GOOD OF ALL OF US HERE.

GRUMKIN: AND HOW ARE WE TO HELP BUILD  
INDUSTRIALIZATION? ON A FULL BELLY OR ON AN  
EMPTY ONE?

KATERINA: DEAR FRIENDS, I'M HUNGRY.  
I HAVEN'T EATEN ANYTHING FOR THREE DAYS.

KOTIKHIN: IT SEEMS, THEN, THAT LARGE  
SUMS OF MONEY ARE NEEDED FOR INDUSTRIALIZATION.  
AND THAT IS WHY THE PEASANTS ARE ORDERED TO  
CONTRIBUTE MORE BREAD? IS THAT CORRECT?

RAYEVSKY: CORRECT.

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1741

KOTIKHIN: BUT WHY THE PEASANTS, IF I  
MAY BE ALLOWED TO ASK? WHY NOT REDUCE THE  
SALARIES OF THE JOHNNIES AND THE GOVERNMENT  
EMPLOYEES? WHY SHOULD THE FACTORY WORKER  
GET NEW HOUSES, CLUBS, THEATRES, AND THE  
PEASANT KEEP ONLY HIS BITTER FATE?

GRUNKIN: WE USED TO RECEIVE MANUFAC-  
TURED GOODS. WHERE ARE THEY NOW? WHAT'S  
THE MATTER? HAVE THE FACTORIES CLOSED  
DOWN OUT THERE? OR HAVE ALL THE WORKERS  
DIED? I BEG YOU TO GIVE ME AN ANSWER.

RAYEVSKY: THE REASON...

OLKHA: WHY HAVE YOU USED UP ALL THE  
LEATHER FOR YOUR PORTFOLIOS? WE HAVE NO BOOTS.

GRUNKIN: I'LL SPEAK FROM HERE. MY VOICE

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1742

CARRIES. CITIZENS, WE'VE ALREADY GIVEN A  
TRAINLOAD OF BREAD. WE'VE PAID OUR TAXES.  
WE'RE GLAD TO GIVE OUR LAST KOPSOK TO THE  
STATE, BUT WE HAVEN'T ANY BREAD. AM I  
RIGHT, CITIZENS?

VOICES: RIGHT! ... WE'VE NO MORE BREAD!...  
ENOUGH! ... WE'VE FULFILLED OUR QUOTA!

KATERINA: I'M HUNGRY, FRIENDS, I'M HUNGRY..

GRUMKIN: IF THEY REFUSE TO TAKE OUR  
WORDS INTO CONSIDERATION, LET THEM TAKE OUR  
BREAD BY FORCE. AM I RIGHT, CITIZENS?

DYEDOV: KVASSOV, MIKHAIL: WHERE ARE  
YOU TAKING ALMOST A HUNDRED POODS OF WHEAT AT  
A MOMENT WHEN THE STATE IS IN NEED OF BREAD?

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1743

MIKHAIL: NOT GUILTY BEFORE THE STATE.

ROMANOV: PERHAPS HE'S TAKING IT TO THE  
MARKET.

MIKHAIL: I WAS BRINGING THE BREAD HERE.

ROMANOV: DON'T TALK TO US IN RIDDLES.  
WE MIGHT GUESS ONE OF THEM.

KOTIKHIN: AND WHAT EXACTLY IS YOUR  
OFFICIAL POSITION? WHAT'S YOUR ADDRESS?

ROMANOV: I'LL SEND YOU MY ADDRESS BY  
LETTER. YOU'LL READ IT ON THE ENVELOPE.

DYEDOV: WHERE WERE YOU TAKING THE BREAD  
TO? ANSWER AND PERIOD!

MIKHAIL: I BROUGHT THE BREAD HERE, TO

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1744

BE DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE PEOPLE, IN COMPLIANCE  
WITH THE SLOGAN OF THE SOVIETS -- 'HELP THE  
POOR.' CITIZEN VILLAGERS, KNOWING THE  
BITTER NEED OF THE PEASANTS, THROUGH MY OWN  
HARD WORK AS A TILLER OF THE SOIL, I MAKE YOU  
A PRESENT OF THIS BREAD. ACCEPT MY OFFERING,  
FOR JESUS CHRIST'S SAKE.

RYEVSKY: THERE ARE TWO WAYS OPEN TO US.

WE CAN, AS HAS BEEN SUGGESTED, BEGIN TO MAKE  
ARRESTS AND SEARCH ALL THE HOUSES. MY OWN  
ORIGINAL INTENTION HAD BEEN TO PUT SUCH  
PRESSURE UPON THE PEASANTS. BUT I HAVE  
BECOME CONVINCED THAT DYEDOV IS RIGHT. NOT  
ONLY WILL THE WHOLE VILLAGE RISE IN ARMS  
AGAINST US, NOT ONLY WILL WE NOT SUCCEED IN  
COLLECTING ANY BREAD: WE MAY ALSO HAVE TO  
ANSWER FOR THE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES OUR  
ACTIONS MAY LEAD TO.

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1745

LOKTYV: A LITTLE PREPAREDNESS WOULD  
NOT HAVE DONE ANY .

RYLETNY: THE SECOND METHOD -- AND, IN  
MY OPINION, THE ONLY CORRECT ONE, THE ONLY  
ONE IN AGREEMENT WITH BOLSHEVIK METHODOLOGY --  
IS TO REMEMBER THAT IT IS FAR MORE IMPORTANT  
FOR US TO HAVE THE PEASANT AS AN ALLY THAN  
TO COLLECT TWO OR THREE THOUSAND ADDITIONAL  
POUNDS OF BREAD. I PROPOSE, THEREFORE, THAT  
AFTER GETTING BEFORE OURSELVES THE TASK OF  
COLLECTING THE LARGEST AMOUNT OF BREAD  
POSSIBLE UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE SHOULD  
NOT BE UPSET IF WE SUCCEEDED IN COLLECTING NO  
MORE THAN TWO OR THREE THOUSAND POUNDS.

MIKHAILOV: YOU'VE BEEN DELAYED? WHAT  
SORT OF DELAY? THERE SHOULDN'T BE ANY HERE.  
THERE IS PLENTY OF BREAD IN THIS VILLAGE.

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1746

DYEDOV: THERE WAS PLENTY OF BREAD.

MIKHAILOV: AND WHO ARE YOU?

DYEDOV: CHAIRMAN OF THE LOCAL SOVIET --

DYEDOV, MIKHAIL PAVLOVICH.

MIKHAILOV: THEN YOU, MIKHAIL PAVLOVICH,

OUGHT TO KNOW THAT THERE IS PLENTY OF BREAD

HERE, NOT THAT THERE WAS.

DYEDOV: JUST SO....

LOKTEV: IN THE MEANTIME WE CERTAINLY  
HAVE FAILED.

MIKHAILOV: WHAT? WHAT DO YOU MEAN,  
FAILED?

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1747

ZOTOVA: I WOULD STRANGLE A KULAK WITH  
MY OWN HANDS -- AND I REPEAT KULAK WORDS!

MIKHAILOV: SUCH THINGS HAPPEN. LET'S  
GET GOING, COMRADES! ROMANOV, YOU WILL HAVE  
TO RUN A FEW ERRANDS. DYEDOV, GET THE LIST  
OF NAMES. THE CHECKED LIST, BE SURE. LOKTEV,  
CALL ALL OUR ACTIVE MEMBERS TOGETHER RIGHT  
AWAY. BUT FIRST OF ALL, LET'S GET OUT OF  
THIS HOUSE!

MIKHAILOV: THANK YOU. YOU COMPUTE  
WELL. I ASK YOU THIS, THEN. TO MAKE A  
PROFIT OF TWO THOUSAND RUBLES WOULD ONE BE  
WILLING TO GIVE AWAY, AS MIKHAIL KVASSOV  
DID YESTERDAY, ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY FOODS  
IN ORDER TO SHUT YOUR MOUTHS? I ASK YOU  
THIS. WHY DOES THE POOR PEASANT AND THE  
MIDDLE PEASANT, WHEN THEY KNOW THAT THE

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1745

STATE NEEDS BREAD IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN  
AGRICULTURE. SELL IT AT THE ESTABLISHED PRICE,  
EVEN WHEN THE MARKET HAS A DIFFERENT PRICE.  
WHILE THE KULAK NOT ONLY HOARDS HIS OWN BREAD,  
BUT, BENEFCTOR THAT HE IS, OVERBIDS THE STATE  
AND BUYS UP ALL THE BREAD IN THE VILLAGES?

RAYEVSKY: I HAVE JUST RECEIVED A NOTE.  
THIS IS WHAT IT SAYS. 'DELEGATE: WE HAVE  
SCARED YOU OFF ONE MEETING ALREADY. YET  
YOU ARE STILL HERE. TAKE OUR ADVICE --  
BEGIN TO HAVE SOME BOARDS FOR YOUR COFFIN.  
YOU HAVEN'T MUCH LONGER TO LIVE. YOUR  
BULLET HAS ALREADY BEEN SENT. THE TIME HAS  
COME FOR YOU TO ENTER THE OTHER WORLD, TO  
PLUNDER BREAD THERE. YOUR HOUR HAS STRUCK!'  
THAT'S AN EXPENSIVE NOTE! IT'S GOING TO  
COST YOU TWO THOUSAND BODDS OF BREAD! IF BY  
MORNING YOU DON'T BRING ME THE AUTHOR OF THIS

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1749

NOTE. I SHALL ADD TWO THOUSAND POODS TO THE  
SEVEN THOUSAND YOU ARE ALREADY TAXED WITH.  
AND IF I RECEIVE ANY MORE NOTES -- FOUR  
THOUSAND.

OLKHA: HOW IS THIS NOW? GOD ONLY  
KNOWS WHO WROTE THE NOTE, BUT ALL OF US  
MUST SUFFER FOR IT.

RAYEVSKY: SILENCE! I'LL SHOW YOU  
FOR WHOM A BULLET HAS BEEN CAST.

MIKHAILOV: I COMMAND YOU TO REScind  
THIS SENSELESS ORDER IMMEDIATELY AND TO SEE  
THAT EVERY PEASANT KNOWS ABOUT IT.

RAYEVSKY: NEVER.

MIKHAILOV: I COULD DO IT MYSELF, BUT

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1750

I DON'T WANT TO MAKE A LAUGHING STOCK OUT OF  
YOU. YOU, AFTER ALL, WILL HAVE TO REMAIN  
HERE AND COLLECT THE BREAD.

RAYSVSKY: I'LL NOT COUNTERMAND THE  
ORDER. NOR WILL I ALLOW YOU TO DO SO. TO  
DRAW BACK, TO COUNTERMAND THE ORDER MERELY  
BECAUSE WE ARE BEING THREATENED WITH A REVOLT!  
THAT'S COWARDLY AND A DISCREDIT TO THE PARTY...

MIKHAILOV: GILDER, PAVEL. THE PARTY  
CAN BE DISCREDITED ONLY BY INANE ORDERS  
AND UNWILLINGNESS TO CORRECT AN ERROR.

RAYSVSKY: YOU MUST FIRST PROVE THAT  
AN ERROR HAS BEEN MADE. YOU YOURSELF USED  
TO IMPOSE FINES ON A CITY WHEN OUR SOLDIERS  
WERE KILLED BY THE INHABITANTS.

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1751

MIKHAILOV: I IMPOSED FINES ON ENEMIES.

ARE YOU, BY ANY CHANCE, AMONG ENEMIES?

R YEVSKY. LET THEM GIVE UP THE KULAKS.

MIKHAILOV: YOU'VE DRIVEN THEM TO UNITE  
 WITH THE KULAKS. YOU'VE SET THE WHOLE  
 VILLAGE AGAINST YOU. HOW DID YOU DARE MAKE  
 USE OF THE BREAD COLLECTION AS AN INSTRUMENT  
 OF PUNISHMENT? WHO ARE YOU -- AN ENGLISH  
 LORD VISITING ONE OF HIS COLONIES? DID YOU  
 LEARN THIS TRICK ABROAD? . . . . .

RAYEVSKY: YOU THINK, THEN, THAT WE  
 OUGHT TO ALLOW OURSELVES TO BE SHOT?

MIKHAILOV: WHO SHOULD BUT THE KULAK?  
 THE KULAK WHO IS ALWAYS SHOUTING AT THE TOP  
 OF HIS LUNGS THAT WE ARE TAKING HIS BREAD AWAY

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1752

BY FORCE -- THAT WE ARE ROBBERS. YOU HAVE  
DONE EVERYTHING IN YOUR POWER TO HELP HIM.  
THAT MUST BE CORRECTED. YOU MUST SHOW THAT  
YOUR ORDER IS AGAINST THE PARTY LINE.

RAYEVSKY: HOW CAN I CONTINUE WORKING  
AFTER THAT?

MIKHAILOV: YOU CONSIDER IT MORE IMPOR-  
TANT, THEN, TO SAFEGUARD YOUR DIGNITY AS AN  
INDIVIDUAL THAN TO FOLLOW A STRAIGHT PARTY  
LINE?

RAYEVSKY: I WILL NOT COUNTERMAND THE ORDER.

MIKHAILOV: YOU WILL DOUNTERMAND IT.

RAYEVSKY: NO.

MIKHAILOV: COUNTERMAND THE ORDER, PAVEL.

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1753

WE HAVE NO TIME TO LOSE. IF YOU DON'T, I

WILL DO IT MYSELF AND PUT YOU UNDER ARREST.

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## SQUARING THE CIRCLE

1754

By VALENTINE KATAYEV

U. J.

WRITTEN IN 1927-28, THE ACTION OF "SQUARING  
THE CIRCLE" TRANSPIRES IN THE LAST YEARS OF  
THE NEP (NEW ECONOMIC POLICY) EPOCH. THE  
LEADING CHARACTERS ARE ALL 'KOMSONOLS,'  
MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE. THE  
PLAY STANDS AS HILARIOUS PROOF THAT THESE  
EARNEST YOUNG FOLLOWERS OF MARX AND LENIN ARE  
UTTERLY HUMAN AND NO MORE IMMUNE TO THE THRILLS  
AND THRUSTS OF LOVE THAN YOUTH UNDER ANY OTHER  
SOCIAL SYSTEM.

### CHARACTERS

ABRAM: MEMBER OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNIST YOUTH.

TONYA: MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST YOUTH.

LUDMILLA: A REAL SHE-GIRL

COLRADE FLAVIUS: AN OLDER BOLSHEVIK

LUDMILLA:

YOUR HEAD IS PADDED WITH COTTON. I WISH  
I'D NEVER SEEN THIS PLACE. LUDMILLOCHKA.

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It is to be hoped that the public will be equally  
 interested in the work of the Russian Theatre as it  
 is in the work of the American Theatre. The Russian  
 Theatre is a new and original art form, and it is  
 one which is being developed in a very rapid  
 manner. It is a theatre which is based on the  
 principles of the League, the International League  
 of Women, the International League of the Young  
 Women, the International League of the Young Men,  
 such ventures are already making the theatre  
 more to discover and learn something in the  
 dramatic world which are based on the principles  
 of life and the struggle of the human mind to  
 break out of the struggle.

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**Material for "Living My Life" and Other  
Autobiographical Material**

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## FIRST PART

### I. Childhood

Kovno, Popelan; Life in Popelan, Parents, Home,  
Early Impressions, the Inn, Peasants, Government Officials,  
Scenes at Conscription, Scenes at Elections, Early Erotic  
Awakening, Early Connections with Sex Demonstrations, Sisters,

Koenigsberg: Impressions of Grandfather Bienowitch,  
Impressions of News of Arrest in Russia of Uncle Jegor, First  
Contact with Death through Little Brother, Childish Fancies,  
Legend of Departed Souls Coming Back Through Open Windows, Jew-  
ish Persecution, Dream of Becoming an Avenger like Judith, Ger-  
man Servants, Amalie, Lack of Conventional Feeling <sup>about</sup> ~~in~~ Morals,  
Attitude to Sister Helene's Love Affair,

Sent to Koenigsberg for Schooling. Tragedies of  
Childhood, Return to Popelan, Father's Violent Outbreaks, Hor-  
rors of Family Life, Birth of Brother Morris, Illness of  
Mother, ~~Fatal~~ Accident of Father, Collapse of Family Fortunes,  
Departure for Koenigsberg,

First Systematic Schooling, Impressions of Teachers,  
Poverty at Home, Effect of First Opera, Gradual Influence of  
German Romantic School through Reading Works of Marlitt, Auerbach  
Heise, Spielhaagen, and others. Hunger for study--eye trouble  
as result of overstrain of school work and home responsibilities--  
forecast of ~~school~~ principal on leaving school--first impression  
on learning term Nihilist through news of killing Alexander II--  
departure for St. Petersburg.

St. Petersburg: Parents' struggle to make living--need

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of helping support family--bitter disappointment of lack of chance  
 for further<sup>s</sup> schooling--romantic love--determination to end life  
 by quantities of vinegar--tyranny at home--rebellion against  
 tyranny--prohibition of reading--of the theater--sordid life in  
 factory--driven to first sexual experience--horror of it--

Beginning of my Introduction to Secret Literature-Turgenev  
 Tchernyshevsky, Goncharov--contact with Revolutionary ideasxxx  
 through studentxx and work in glove and corset factories--~~xxx~~  
~~particxarxAmarixx~~ adolescent dreams about America--desperate  
 struggle with father to get permission for my departure with  
 sister Helen--exalted feeling in crossing ocean.

Rochester, N. Y.: Thrown from seething, colorful, intense  
 life of St. Petersburg into a mental and spiritual desert. Be-  
 ginning of my economic slavery--Garson & Sons' Clothing Mfg.  
 Co.--drudgery 10 hours a day for \$ 2.50 a week--condition of  
 shop--drab and cramped life in Sister Lena's house--~~xxx~~ hunger  
 for books and music--spiritual isolation--meeting Jacob Kersner--  
 first introduction to Socialism at Socialist Local in Rochester--  
 impression of Johanna Greie, famous Socialist lecturer--parents'  
 arrival from Russia--father's purgatory in shops--cramping life  
 in the family--marriage in February, 1887.

Haymarket Riots in Chicago--trial of the Anarchists--  
 their conviction and death--my spiritual birth--leaving Kersner--  
 going to work in New Haven--first contact with ideas of Anarchismxx  
 represented by a young student, Solotaroff--returning to Rochester  
 ---after desperate struggle with parents and Kersner, persuaded  
 to take up life again with him--final break three months later--  
 public condemnation--bitterness and opposition of parents--ex-  
 cruciating isolation except for devotion of Helene--I take u p

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dressmaking to support myself--life made impossible in Rochester--  
I decide to go to New York and break with my past.

New York: August 15, 1889. After a day's tramp~~xxxx~~  
locate Solotaroff, only person I know in N. Y.--same day I meet  
Alexander Berkman,<sup>S. T.,</sup>~~xxxx~~ the Minkin sisters--on first hearing  
John Most speak--inauguration into new life--new ideas--love for  
A. B.--my introduction to the Anarchist movement--my connection  
with Die Freiheit--my friendship with John Most--my inauguration  
into the German and Jewish Anarchist movements--Annie Netter and  
her father's house--headquarters of young Anarchists--impression  
of first 11th of November commemoration in Cooper Union--meeting  
~~and~~ leading men and women in various activities--determination to  
become a public speaker--first public appearance in Union Square  
May 1st, 1890--forming little commune in NY with A. B. & S. T.--  
need of earning a living --taking out piece work from factories--  
~~keeping~~ dividing time between work, housekeeping and study of  
Anarchism--impressions from and experience with John Most--my in-  
troduction to good music and books--joining the group Autonomy--  
~~xxxx~~  
Peukert, Timmermann,~~xxxx~~  
~~xxxx~~ first lecture tour under the auspices of the Anarchist Execu-  
tive Board--am elected member of Board--at congress held in NY--in  
summer of 1890--soon come in conflict with arbitrary and limited  
character of Board--my break with Most and his imprisonment--~~xxxx~~  
S. E. goes to Springfield to work on crayons--AB and I follow--  
the to Worcester, Mass.--difficulty of finding work and means of  
carrying on propaganda --we decide to open up an icecream parlor.

<sup>e</sup>  
Homestead Strike: Decision to go with AB to Pittsburg to  
work among strikers--we go to NY to prepare manifesto--desperate  
effort to find printer--the killing of 11 strikers by Pinkerton



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thugs--AB decides to kill Frick--experimenting on a bomb in little flat of Peppie--experiments carried on at night--bomb taken out to Long Island for test--does not work--after long struggle AB decides to use revolver --bitter conflict with AB because of my wanting to go with him--finally decided he is to go alone, our capital consists of enough to buy a ticket to Pittsburg and leaves one dollar for B--I agree to ~~xxxxxx~~ find money no matter by what means--unforgettable night of his departure--try to raise money by streetwalking but failed--interesting meeting of old man on 14th St.--go through painful process of cheating my beloved sister Helene by fake illness--finally get enough money to send B for a new suit of clothes and revolver--act is to take place July 21, 1892--spend all night at Park Row for first news of act--shock of Most's stand on the act--his repudiation of AB--the beginning of bitter feud with Most and his followers--final horsewhipping of John Most--I stand almost alone in my defense and support of AB--am repudiated by most members of the German and Jewish Anarchist movements--only support from Merlino, Dyer/ D. Lum, Baron Dess, Professor Garsite, W & C. Owen and John Edelman--impressive large meeting in defense of AB--police raid the apartment of Peppie--confiscation of my entire library of documents and pictures--tried to implicate me in the act --failed for lack of evidence--shut out from home by Peppie--can find no work, no place to live--last resort rent room in house of prostitution, Fourth St. and Third Ave.--F. O. ~~xxx~~ young German Anarchist, who came to NY and was a member of household while AB was still with ~~me~~ attempts to commit suicide because unable to find employment-- is saved--goes back to Germany to take charge of smuggling of Anarchist literature into Germany--is soon arrested and given 8 years--unable to pay the rent--am thrown out on street --sleep in parks, elevated train and street cars going back and

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forth to Bronx--more difficult to bear than cold and hunger is  
uncertainty of AB's fate--S. T. and I had decided to blow up  
courthouse should AB be condemned to death--trial kept secret  
--no possibility of learning anything about it or of getting to  
AB --horrible shock of his conviction and sentence to 22 years  
imprisonment--I find quarters in the Bohemian Republic, a place  
so called because of Czech revolutionary ~~emigrants~~ immigrants who  
had settled there--share 2 little rooms with S. T. and Timmer-  
man--my health breaks down--I meet Robert Reitzel--spend much  
time at saloon of Justus Schwab, which is gathering place for  
rebels from every part of Europe, and for every young writer and  
artist in NY--I meet J. Huneker on tour--first stop Pittsburg--  
I pilgrim out to Western Penitentiary to see AB--the effect of  
our meeting--too shattered to meet people or go anywhere--through  
the night while waiting for train to take me to St. Louis I tramp  
the streets of Pittsburg with Carl <sup>M</sup>old--overwhelming impression  
of beaching fires of steel mills against pitch darkness of horizon  
--leave Pittsburg disheartened and discouraged--sustained by one  
purpose, to help AB--~~St~~ St. Louis--I meet various people in the  
Anarchist movement--police interference--return to NY--my life in  
the Bohemian Republic--poverty--illness--I meet Edward Brady, who  
had come from Austria after 10 years imprisonment--complete physi-  
cal breakdown--cough, hemorrhage of lungs--loss of weight--sustained  
from complete despair and nursed faithfully by Brady--finally com-  
pelled to leave NY-May 30, 1893--I go to <sup>R</sup>ochester--care and devo-  
tion of <sup>M</sup>ister Helen--slow recovery--I read of the Cloakmakers'  
Strike in NY, the poverty and destitution of thousands of men,  
women and children--I rush back to take my place among the  
strikers--I organize the first Jewish and <sup>I</sup>talian group of girls  
in the Cloakmakers' Strike--completely absorbed in speaking, or-

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ganizing relief--help prepare demonstration for Union Square--  
address 40,000 people on the right of the hungry man to bread--  
same night <sup>S</sup> leave for Philadelphia to organize work there.

Meeting Voltairine de Cleyre, Matacha Notkin and other de-  
voted workers-- My first meeting with Max Baginsky --on reaching  
hall night of public meeting I am arrested--two friends trying  
to give me some money are nabbed by police--I am put in Moamensing  
Prison--awaiting extradition--my first contact with solitary confin-  
ment--brought back to NN and placed under \$5000 bail--my defense  
taken over by ~~Max~~ O. K. Hall, former Mayor of NN and man about  
town--am chosen as delegate to Anarchist congress in St. Louis  
during exposition--meeting a number of interesting people-- John  
Henry Mackay and others--trial interferes with my plans--am found  
guilty on charge of inciting to riot as result of perjured testi-  
mony of a detective--offer of Chief of Police Byrnes to quash  
indictment and pay me ~~substantial~~ substantial sum if I would betray  
labor interests--tussle with Byrnes in his office which nearly  
ends in my being killed---sent to Blackwell's Island for a year.

Blackwell's Island: Condition of the prison--Warden Pills-  
bury--interesting figure-- head matron De Graff--sadist--assistant  
matrons somewhat human--various types of prisoners--most interest-  
ing Annie Walden who had shot and killed her husband--other prison-  
ers mostly prostitutes picked up in the raids of the vice crusade  
of the Lexo Committee--with Rev. Parkhurst at its head--the old  
Jewish woman--who dies shortly after her arrival--the unfortunate  
dope fiends suddenly cut off from the use of drugs--nerve-racking  
misery and suffering of the prisoners--I am first put in the  
sewing room and stricken with rheumatism--put in the hospital--  
after recovery I am given job of nursing the sick--many interest-  
ing incidents--am visited by John Swinton, Emma Lee (who had be-

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come interested in my case)--the attempt of various soul savers to rescue me from perdition--missionaries, ministers, rabbis--the most humane two Catholic sisters and the Catholic priest--find latter most interesting and informed--I am introduced to world of American and English literature through the good offices of my friend Justus Schwab--I receive the Life of Albert Brisbane, who was associated with ~~Emax~~ Fourier in Communistic experiments--book is inscribed by wife of Albert and sent by Arthur Brisbane their son--after 10 months of purgatory I am released--met by devoted Edward Brady and Emma Lee--I write about my prison experience for NY World which causes an investigation and ends in the dismissal of De Graff--her many attempts at bribery to keep me from disclosing the appalling conditions were of no avail.

. The 18th Century Salon of Marie-Louise--the coterie of people who used to gather there--Rev. Parkhurst and his cohorts trying to enlist my co-operation in attack against Tammany Hall--interesting reporter of NY World.

Europe: 1895 I go to Europe--to lecture in Eng. and Scotland--then to Vienna to take up course of study in obstetrics and children's diseases--In London I meet for first time Peter Kropotkin--the sisters Rosetti-Helen and Olive, publishers of the Torch--other interesting Anarchists--my renewed acquaintance with ~~Em~~ Bart Kennedy,--writer and poet--Vienna--my introduction to anew life of art and letters--Nietzsche, works of entire German and Austrian school of the '90's--Gerhart Hauptmann--Sudermann and many others--after a year of intensive study I return to NY and take up my life with Brady. I earn my living as nurse and midwife--differences in ~~xx~~ literary taste with Brady--his objection to my work--he had suffered much--he wanted a home, wife, comforts and peace--I was insatiable for life and experiences--more than



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anything passionately devoted to my ideas--my meeting with interesting Italian and Spanish Anarchists--who were engaged in organizing the overthrow of Spanish rule in Cuba--my connection with the Spanish Junta--the free silver campaign--William Jennings Bryan the supposedly new "Messiah"--western Anarchists misled by his promise trying to induce me to stump the country for free silver --~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ campaign for commutation of sentence of AB--my meeting with John Crosby, Leonard Abbott, and other interesting American radicals -- my introduction to the Manhattan Liberal Club and Sunrise Club--my first extensive tour through America--Detroit--I renew acquaintance with Robert Reitzel then already stricken with paralysis but with same brilliant and sparkling mind--interesting days with him--other people of note--German poet Dresser--Labadie--a minister who invites me to speak on Anarchism at his church -- other people-- Herman Miller --Dr. Siegel --Carl Schmidt--impressive meeting at Central Labor Union--Chicago--Max Baginsky--my first meeting with and impression of Eugene Debs-- Clemens, picturesque personality--St. Louis--police interference with meeting--San Francisco--the Isaak family--Free Society--I meet Annie and Rose Strunsky--overwhelming sensation of travelling through the West--Shasta Springs--Mt. Hood-- the Rockies--I return to NY--great campaign against the Spanish atrocities, the tortures of innocent men and women in the prison of Montjuich--the killing of Prime Minister Canovas by Angelino--his extraordinary personality--my introduction to the works of Walt Whitman and the Walt Whitman Fellowship--renewed tour--meeting many interesting people--gathering of intimate friends in Detroit as guests of Herman Miller--for my send-off to Europe for second time ~~xxxx~~--promise of friends to sustain me for four years' study of medicine--preparation of AB's



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escape by means of a tunnel--inducing E. B. to take charge of dangerous work--by separation from Brady--leaving for England--London--meeting various interesting Russian refugees--Tom Mann--Harry Kelly--John Turner--taking part in anti-war activities <sup>for the</sup> ~~mixing~~ South Africans during Boer War --my introduction to Havelock Ellis, Edward Carpenter, William Morris--lecturing through England and Scotland--Paris--meeting Victor Dave, Sebastian Faure, A. Hamon--helping to prepare Anarchist congress to take place in Paris of that year during Exposition--my American "benefactors", who offered to sustain me for 4 years, changed their minds because of my activities--I am left penniless -- turn to job of guide for various friends who come to exposition--my menage in the avenue des Gobelins--visited by M.B. and Millie, E. B. and others--I return to America with H. H. and E. B.--stranded--I live in a furnished room on the East Side and begin to earn my living as nurse--H. H. going to Chicago to work on Arbeiter Zeitung--painful misunderstanding <sup>with</sup> ~~of~~ AB over failure of tunnel escape--his emissary--spring of 1901 on tour--Cleveland--I meet Leon Czolgoz under name of Newman--I meet him again in Chicago--I go to Rochester for a month's rest to meet Morris and two of his fellow students--Stella, Sam, David and the other children of my sisters--while there we are invited to Buffalo ~~and~~--the Pan-American Exposition--spend wonderful 4 weeks with my nieces and nephews-- I go to Pittsburgh on second visit to AB after 10 years --denied visits during all these years--I went as his sister recently arrived from Russia -shattering impression of Berkman.

September 6, 1901, Czolgoz attempts the life of McKinley--nation wide panic--I am in St. Louis at time--papers' report of raid on Isaak headquarters--arrest of whole family--country wide search for me--I leave for Chicago same night to give myself

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up to police--I find my friends in Chicago terrorized over outcome of my intention--everybody feels it is going to be repetition of Chicago Anarchists--they urge me to go to Canada--I refuse--am persuaded to wait few days--I am stopping with the N.'s--police ~~head~~ headed by Chitler and 12 detectives after long search discover me--taken to police headquarters--subjected to 3rd degree--awakened nights by search light over my head--allowed to go without water and other subtle methods of torture--situation looks very grave--am saved by Chief of Police O'Neill because of his interest in <sup>exposing</sup> ~~striking~~ some of his captains indicted for graft and bribery--I am put under \$20,000 bail--prefer remaining in jail awaiting extradition--during transfer from Harrison St. Station to County Jail am brutally attacked by policeman--tooth knocked out--after 3 weeks of suspense the Buffalo police are unable to bring evidence--I am released--all my efforts to arouse sympathy and support for Czolgoz fruitless--am declared mad by all radicals to attempt such a thing--I meet Louis F. Post and his wife--he promises some support thru his paper The Public~~ity~~ provided I would wait until the panic is over--friction with Isaak over my article on tragedy of Buffalo--refuses to publish it in the Free Society--finally ~~submit~~ submits to pressure brought to bear by younger members of F. S. group--I go to NY to help Czolgoz--there I find nearly everybody paralyzed with fear--people who knew me for years repudiate me--I cannot even get living quarters--taken in by a prostitute in her room--Czolgoz betrayed by everybody--shock almost kills me--I leave the Anarchist movement determined never to return--I take the name E. G. Smith--I move into a flat on First St. and am joined by brother Morris and his two student friends--from time to time I get cases to nurse--I am called to nurse a dope fiend~~xx~~, a Mrs.

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descrip. of Mrs. S.  
Standard--after several days I discover she is the keeper of a  
house--innovation in the workmanship of a house of prostitution--  
reaction of various inmates to men who buy them--their physical  
endurance--my discovery that the protector of Mrs. Standard's house  
is none other than the detective who brought me from Phila. to NY  
and swore away a year of my life--owing to Raines Law Mrs. Stand-  
ard compelled to give up her house--opens a Raines hotel-- with  
more flourishing business of girls bringing their customers to  
her place than to her open house--I learned that most ardent  
frequenters of new place among other men is a former prosecuting  
attorney MacIntyre who saved the city of NY from the bloodshed  
EG would spread had she her way-- the scenes enacted by such  
respectable pillars of society in Mrs. S.'s house are too much  
for me--I refuse to nurse her at night--am discharged--later  
Mrs. S. comes back--begs to be taken into my place for a cure--  
she is gradually brought back to normal condition--process has  
considerable effect on my health.

Visit of Kropotkin to America--the announcement of John  
Turner's tour brings me back to Anarchist movement--his arrest  
on his first appearance and threatened deportation--campaign to  
save him from deportation--death of Justus Schwab--death of Brady  
--I remove to East Side to continue nursing--some of types that  
drifted in and out at that place--I move uptown--meeting A. Z. ,  
Thorsten Brown, George B. Herron--I go to Rochester to speak for  
striking garment workers--my encounter with my erstwhile employer  
Garson--his offer of a bribe to sidetrack the strike--my connec-  
tion with campaign for Heywood, Moyer and Pettibone--free speech  
fight in Phila., 1903--my removal to 210, East 13th St.--the per-  
sonnel of the tenants of that house--numerous events that took  
place during 10 years--re-organization of the Friends of Russian

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Freedom--Alice Stone Blackwell--Dudley Falke and the Roosevelt Administration--innocently coming up to 5th floor of innocent looking BG Smith to help in work for Russia--1905 Russian Revolution--intensive work to arouse American opinion--arrival of Catherine Freshkovskaya and other leading Russian revolutionists--campaign to enlist the interest of young intelligentsia of America--university settlement and its adherents--Stokes, Walling, Bullard, and Durland and the rest--their support of Russian revolutionary methods--helping to raise funds for equipment of a steamer running between Finland and Russia to smuggle over firearms--E. B.'s part in the work--opened up hairdressing parlor in a fashionable building on Broadway--primarily as a cover for revolutionary activities--arrival of Orlenieff-Nazimova dramatic group--my connection with it while camping on Hunter's Island--my attempt to organize well-to-do backing for Orlenieff--amusing incidents of that effort--unwitting support of Roosevelt's cousins--support of Minnie Maddern Fiske and her husband, Ethel Barrymore, theater manager Brady, engagements in Boston and Chicago for Orlenieff--other comic and tragic incidents--Orlenieff gives a performance to help me start the publication of Mother Earth magazine--death of John Most--resurrection of AB from 14 years of living death--my his desperate struggle of re-adjustment--lasting effect on me of AB's act and his imprisonment--my arrest at the Czolgoz anniversary meeting.

My second California tour in 1907--general strike in San Francisco--re-discovery of friends in California, Oregon and Washington--my trip through Canada--held up at the American border--M. B. leaving with ME for Amsterdam as delegate to Anarchist conference there, while AB remains in charge of Mother Earth--meeting old and new outstanding people in the movement--my visit to Paris--meeting



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~~Harry~~ Hervie--group of cartppnists and painters of the time--making a study of Syndacalism~~xxxxxxx~~ coming in close touch with ~~xxxxxx~~ C. G. T. U. and its interesting educational ventures--meeting Pouget, Patout, Monatte and Delsalle--and others--London again--constant attention of Scotland Yard-- imperative need of returning to America unheralded--owing to newspaper campaign to keep me out--tricked Scotland Yard--hospitality of friends who helped me to escape--Kamfmayer, Serebreikov--return to NY--finding painful situation there~~xxxx~~

1906, starting on new California tour--arrive in Chicago after act of Overbach's--his attempt on the life of Chief of Police Shippy--his cruel death--all my lectures stopped--meeting Dr. Yampolsky, Nathanson and others--they bring ~~xxxx~~ Ben L. to meet me--he marks the beginning of 10 wild painful ~~xxx~~ fascinating and fruitful years-- old method of ~~xxxxxx~~ living with comrades, submitting inefficient ways of to the jealousy of the wives, the hardships of arranging meetings now at an end--Ben L. becomes my manager--triumphal tour through the entire West--arrest of Private William Buwaldo--in Portland I meet Charles Brskine Scott Wood, lawyer, poet, humanitarian, and Kitty Beck--in Montana we are flooded, making our way by stage, horse back and Indian trail --1909 I am robbed of my citizenship rights--held up on Canadian border--first shock over escapades of Ben L.--AB begins his memoirs--I begin to write my essays--lights and shadows on the Ossining farm----trial and shooting of Francisco Ferrer--organizing the Ferrer school--intensive free speech campaign in Phila.--starting the Mother Earth Publishing House-- my contact with group of American artists and intellectuals in NY--Robert Henri, John Sloane, George Barrows, Hutchins Hapgood, Sadakichi Hartman, Bayard Boyeson--story of 210 East Thirteenth St.--moving to a large house on 119th St.--meeting Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair



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1916. Ben L.'s arrest for birth control activities--his imprisonment-- California tour without Ben L. --AB and Fizzie organize meetings in Los Angeles and San Francisco--victory in San Diego-- going to San Francisco--bomb in preparedness parade July 22, 1916-- arrest of Tom Mooney, Rainey Mooney, Billings, Nolan, Weinberg--immediate campaign in their behalf-- my return trip--arrest in Portland of Ben L. and myself for birth control activities--meeting John Reed--he presides at meeting--arrest of Ben L. in Cleveland for birth control--in Rochester.

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Intensive campaign against America's entry into World War--  
 formation of Non-Conscription League--tremendous response--fury of  
 police over ~~g~~ growing interest and attendance of meetings--raids  
 on offices of Blast and Mother Earth--arrest of L. K. and Decker--  
 arrest of AB and myself--failure of Ben L. to stand by the situa-  
 tion--our trial, ~~and~~ conviction and sentence to 2 years imprison-  
 ment, \$10,000 fine and deportation--eviction ~~of~~ from Mother Earth  
 office--AB sent to Atlanta--I to Jefferson City, Mo.--we are  
 brought back on an appeal--thanks to efforts of Harry Weinberger--  
 out on \$25,000 bail--San Francisco anxious to put Berkman in the  
 noose--makes violent efforts for his extradition--Fitzie and myself  
 start intensive work to arouse the interest of organized labor to  
 save AB from the SF conspiracy--response of entire Jewish labor ele-  
 ment--many Gentile organizations too -- growing abyss between Ben ~~L~~  
 L. and myself--our final break-- I go on tour for the CO's--Supreme  
 Court sustains decision of Federal Court--we are sent back--2 years  
 in prison--our release on Sept. 28 and Oct. 1, 1919--AB's illness--  
 we are again put under bail of \$25,000 each pending deportation--  
 we go on tour to raise funds for the deportees--Washington decides  
 on our deportation--we deliver ourselves to Ellis Island--comic and  
 tragic aspects of our 2 weeks on Ellis Island--Dec. 21, 1919, at 4  
 am we are kidnapped, are taken under an array of ~~first~~ state and  
 federal officials in a tug to the Buford--end of 35 years heights and  
 depths in America.

28 days cruising to unknown shores, finally through Finland  
 to Russia--

Russia--the White Flame--our expectations--slow and painful  
 awakening to reality--the people we met--~~first~~ British Labor delegation  
 --Bertrand Russell--our travels through Russia--death and destruction  
 stalked everywhere through the land--our visits with Kropotkin--his

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death and funeral-- theKronstadt massacre--congress of Red Trade  
Union International--sessions with Latin delegates--French Spanish  
and Italian Syndicalists--hunger strike of comrades--shooting of  
Anna Baron and Llev Tcherny--our final decision to leave Russia--  
we reach Latvia--difficulties of getting visas to enter Germany--  
reasons for it--Swedish visa--granted by Brantung--we are arrested  
on leaving Riga-- we finally get to Stockholm--I write a series of  
articles on Russia--offered to some of the liberal papers in NY and  
refused--they are accepted by NY World--terrific struggle with  
friends and opponents over my decision to publish the articles--  
I am attacked bitterly by people in our own ranks and outside--  
charged with having sold myself to the capitalistic press--the  
Russian experience <sup>quashes</sup> crashes all my hopes-- makes life unbearable--  
but need of love and companionship will not be daunted--I meet A.--  
~~with~~ 3 months of a beautiful relationship--~~six months in Germany~~ which  
should have remained an episode--but when transferred to Germany  
ended painfully--amidst spiritual turmoil and an emotional storm I  
begin to write my book on Russia--the story of the pitfalls of the  
book--interesting people in Germany--Gerhart Hauptmann--poet Anna  
Holz--Danish writer Karen Michaelis--champions for sex freedom Dr.  
Hershfeld and Dr. Stecker-- etcher Kate Kollvitch--sculptress Renee  
Sintines--many other interesting women--writers and poets--Frank  
Harris again--thanks to his efforts I am given a British visa--  
bleakness of London--my struggle for Russian political prisoners--  
H. G. Wells--Rebecca West--Havelock Ellis--Edward Carpenter--I again  
see Bertrand Russell--Lady Rhonda--Lady Astor--other interesting peo-  
ple--second year in London--I meet Paul Robeson and hear his beautiful  
voice--Fitzie's visit-- I meet interesting people in the dramatic  
world--Barry Jackson--Kommissarjasky--activities of the Playgoer  
Society in England--English winters Prove my Waterloo--I am invited

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to visit the Harrises in Nice --their fine hospitality--Nellie Harris  
as hostess and friend--I meet Isadora Duncan again--return to England  
for a short lecture tour--then to St. Tropez to write my book on the  
origin and development of the Russian drama--I decide to go to Canada  
on lecture tour--difficulties of carrying out the plan-- 18 months  
of desperate struggle--~~only~~ only temporarily illuminated by a new  
erotic upheaval for an old friend--short lived ecstatic experience--  
am confronted with need for transvaluing many of my socio-political  
values--at suggestion of friends I decide to write my autobiography--  
I return to France--short visit to England--renewing acquaintance  
and friendships with Paul Robeson, Sinclair Lewis and others--meeting  
new friends--back in St. Tropez.



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Correction of 1-112

p. 66-67 Say in Portuguese, see Portuguese  
Tropics. Chap III. Sept.

p. 100 - relate (how a name?) Home names?  
178 - <sup>in words</sup> of Luke - clear?

~~Kaplan U.S. in 1878~~

531 - Ted ~~it~~ not in 17 as a day  
in a common form when

~~76 - Statue Liberty  
Labels Boston Photos~~

~~Segatti & p. 1684~~

~~221 - John <sup>St</sup> ~~St~~~~

M. M. 1476 - Statue Liberty

Francisco  
Xavier  
Morales

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550



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F. Can...

1-112

11-1-1911 ... 500 ...  
... 17, 3 pt.

to ...

101

~~45~~  
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~~19 ...~~  
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1916 - ...  
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Seattle 2-11-1914  
... typing

221 - ...  
...

M. M.

presente ...  
P. S. Martino

francesco  
Xavier  
Martino



My ...

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• Loving in M. E.

~~Halberer = p 1248~~

✓ Simons + Glen, new initials - p. 1318.

Kuh, in m-hal - 868 t-ha

~~I saw a <sup>small</sup> ~~bird~~ <sup>come</sup> ~~up~~~~  
~~— <sup>large</sup> ~~birds~~~~

~~952 is from 1910.~~

Edmund V McKenzie  
William H. H. H. H. H.

Ernest Howard

C. S. Scott

121. Feb 17 1866

Olaf A. Treitman (Sci)-Trans (Calif Univ) 11/21/1968

~~Casals 1099, 1102 June, Connolly~~  
(OK)

Crash

1. 65, 111

San Antonio, Wm. L. - 1/02

~~What is the name?~~

~~Ex B. No. 10~~

~~Gibelin - correct also~~

~~1911-11-18 \*~~

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## CORRECTIONS TO BE MADE IN "LIVING MY LIFE"

1. The name ISAAK to be spelled with final I. Throughout the MSS. it is spelled wrongly with final O. Correct on pages: 372, 465, 466, 467, 518, 520, 523, 525, 603, 606. (On several of those pages the name appears repeatedly.)
2. Page 372, change the name Pearl McCloud to read: Perle McLeod.
3. Page 513, first line above, to read: friend Eric B. Norton, whom we had, etc.
4. Same page, 12th line, change "Ibsen" to Eric. 15th line, also change "Ibsen" to Eric.
5. Page 514, lines 5 and 9 from above, change "Ibsen" to Eric.
6. Page 536, first paragraph, second line, change "Ibsen" to read: Eric Norton.
7. Page 537, first line above, change "Ibsen" to Eric. Ditto, same page, first, eleventh and thirteenth lines of second paragraph: "Ibsen" to be changed to read Eric.
8. Page 559, 3rd line from the bottom, change "Ibsen" to read Eric.
9. Page 574, 9th line from above, change "Ibsen" to Eric.
10. Page 575, second paragraph, first line, change "Ibsen" to read: Eric B. Norton.
11. Same page, 3rd and 9th lines, from the bottom, change "Ibsen" to Eric.
12. Page 577, 7th from above and 4th line from below, change "Ibsen" to Eric.
13. Page 578, last paragraph, first line, change "Ibsen" to Eric.
14. Page 580, 2nd par., first line, and 6th line from below, change "Ibsen" to Eric.
15. Page 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, change "Ibsen" to Eric.
16. Pages 608, 616, 627, 634, 640, 641, 643, 644, 646, 647, 648 and 649, change Isaacs to Isaak, and Isaacs to Isaaks.
17. Page 609, 8th line from below, change "a sub rosa letter" to read, simply: sub rosa.
18. Page 616, 10th line from below, is to read: The Isaak family, Milwaukee, our old comrade Jay Fox, a most active man in the Labor movement, and a number of others were (and so forth).

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870922050

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## CORRECTIONS -- 2

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19. Page 622, 8th line from below, should read: Captain Schuetzler, (and so on).
20. Page 735, 10th line from above, change Ready to Reedy.
21. Page 968, 5th line from above is to read: There was also another reason -- the Modern School the Ferrer Association was planning to establish in New York. We had been fortunate in securing the ~~make~~ active help of some very vital persons in its educational work, among them Lola Ridge, Manuel Komroff, Rose and Mary Yuster. I wanted to interest Jack London in our project. I wrote requesting him to attend my lecture on Francisco Ferrer.
22. Page 1150, 4th line from above, insert after the word Sasha: and my romantic admirer, Leon Bass, left (and so on).
23. Page 1182, last line, bottom, and 6th line above it, the name Pierce to be spelled: Pearse.

EMMA GOLDMAN

NOTE: Regarding pages 1220 - 1489, incl., now being forwarded to you, see enclosed special page concerning deletions suggested by Mr. Burton.

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9200

## CORRECTIONS TO BE MADE IN "LIVING MY LIFE"

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2. Page 372, change the name Pearl McCloud to read: Parle McLeod.
3. Page 513, first line above, to read: friend Eric B. Norton, whom we had, etc.
4. Same page, 12th line, change "Ibsen" to Eric. 15th line, also change "Ibsen" to Eric.
5. Page 514, lines 1 and 2 from above, change "Ibsen" to Eric.
6. Page 520, first paragraph, second line, change "Ibsen" to read: Eric Norton.
7. Page 527, first line above, change "Ibsen" to Eric. Ditto, same page, first, eleventh and thirteenth lines of second paragraph: "Ibsen" to be changed to read Eric.
8. Page 559, 3rd line from the bottom, change "Ibsen" to read Eric.
9. Page 574, 9th line from above, change "Ibsen" to Eric.
10. Page 575, second paragraph, first line, change "Ibsen" to read: Eric B. Norton.
11. Same page, 3rd and 5th lines, from the bottom, change "Ibsen" to Eric.
12. Page 577, 7th from above and 4th line from below, change "Ibsen" to Eric.
13. Page 578, last paragraph, first line, change "Ibsen" to Eric.
14. Page 580, 1st par., first line, and 6th line from below, change "Ibsen" to Eric.
15. Page 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, change "Ibsen" to Eric.
16. Pages 613, 616, 627, 634, 640, 641, 642, 644, 646, 647, 648 and 649, change Isaac to Isaak, and Isaacs to Isaaks.
17. Page 609, 8th line from below, change "a sub rosa letter" to read, simply: sub rosa.
18. Page 616, 10th line from below, is to read: The Isaak family, Hippolyte, our old comrade Jay Fox, a most active man in the Labor movement, and a number of others were (and so forth).

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9201

## CORRECTIONS -- 2

19. Page 922, 8th line from below, should read: Captain Schottler, (and so on).
20. Page 933, 10th line from above, change Ready to Reedy.
21. Page 960, 5th line from above is to read: There was also another reason -- the Modern School the Ferrer Association was planning to establish in New York. We had been fortunate in securing the ~~much~~ active help of some very vital persons in its educational work, among them Lela Hidge, Marnel Kauruff, Rose and Mary Yuster. I wanted to interest Jack London in our project. I wrote requesting him to attend my lecture on Francisco Ferrer.
22. Page 1150, 4th line from above, insert after the word Sasha: and my romantic admirer, Leon Bass, left (and so on).
23. Page 1182, last line, bottom, and 6th line above it, the name Pierce to be spelled: Pearce.

EMMA GOLDMAN

NOTE: Regarding pages 1220 - 1409, incl., now being forwarded to you, see enclosed special page concerning deletions suggested by Mr. Barton.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Living My Life] / Emma Goldman. — (fragment). — 12 p. ; 33 x 20 cm.  
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It is , the police authorities, sent two detectives to  
Rochester, New York (our home town); these men worked for months,  
succeeded in bribing the parents of the man to whom I have once  
been married, perhaps also terrorized them; but, in any event, the  
old people went on the witness stand and testified that their son,  
on taking out their citizen's papers, had not been five years in  
the country, he was not 21 years of age. The man who had been  
absent, no one knew where, he disappeared; needless to say,  
the police were not satisfied, but, in the end, to get rid of me.

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In 1907, Emma Goldman, an American-born anarchist, went to  
Paris and lived in the Hotel de la Paix, where she met many of the  
anarchists of the time, including Peter Kropotkin, and others.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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audience was permitted to attend. The next day, at the suggestion of some single tax friends of mine, we carried the action of the police into court. The matter took three weeks; during that time I was trailed by detectives day and night. The house was watched always. During that time a memorial meeting of Ferrer was arranged in New York and, as I was its principal speaker, I had to get out of Philadelphia without the knowledge of detectives. There was no other way than to climb up the roof across to another house, then down the stairs into the yard, over a number of fences; in that way I finally got to the depot and into New York.

The faces of the detectives when I returned next day and came back by the front entrance, was a study. The stupid fools could not possibly know the intricate way of the revolution-  
~~ists, who had been in the city for a long time.~~

Of course, the Court decided against me and, for a long time after that, free speech was abolished in Philadelphia.

The same year I came to San Francisco, California, for a series of eight lectures. All went well the first evening. On my arrival at the hall the next evening, I found it surrounded by police. Two detectives presented me with a warrant, ordered my arrest. In the patrol wagon, I found my manager and William Burdick, the soldier who had received five years military prison for shaking hands with me the year prior. His sentence had been commuted by Roosevelt. He had just come out of prison, and we had dinner together before going to the hall. Eight charges of conspiracy were preferred against Reisman, and we were held under \$16,000 bail, which friends promptly furnished. It took six weeks before we could get to trial. The latter was a farce, and we were acquitted. But I lost valuable time and considerable money, without getting the least redress from the authorities.

However, the advertisement which our arrest gave us, helped tremendously with my meetings in Portland and Seattle. I never had such large audiences before. The next year I was arrested in New York.

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arrival, we were notified by the police that there would be no meeting, and that we must leave town at once or we would be shipped out by force. After we got in touch with some of the radicals, we found that there was no hope of speaking in the city, and, therefore, left for Bellingham, Washington. There we were met by detectives at the station and immediately taken to the station-house, and the next morning placed under \$5,000 bail each. As we did not know a soul, I came to the conclusion that we would have to "face the music". But late in the afternoon of that day we were called up to meet two gentlemen who came to pay our bail. I was surprised to find two strangers who introduced themselves, one of them as an attorney, and the other as a writer, who said that they had heard of me sufficiently to trust me, and that they would go the bail for Reisman and myself.

We then went to Vancouver, where I was booked to speak. When we got to the Canadian border, we were politely taken off the train. The inspector, who was very nice, said that he had to wire Ottawa for instructions whether or no he could let us pass. He proved himself a very pleasant host, and entertained us on coffee and the most exciting tales of frontier life. Then, in the morning, instructions came to let us go.

That ended the troubles of the year 1909.

In 1910, I wrote my essays on Anarchism and Other Essays. After that I went on my annual tour across the country. My past experience convinced me that it is a grievous mistake to concentrate only on the workers; that the American intelligentsia, more than the intelligentsia of Russia, was sadly in need of enlightenment of social topics. I knew it would be useless to attempt to reach them with straight economics. I, therefore, decided to use the drama and literature as a means of waking up our most unintelligent intelligentsia. College towns received special attention on this tour. The first we visited was Madison, Wisconsin. A group of students invited me to speak on the difference between education and enlightenment.

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the building of the Y. W. O. A. The next morning there was a 12127  
revolution on the campus. The students were thrown out by the  
Trustees of the Y.M.C.A., and the whole university was in an uproar.  
To add fuel to the fire, Professor Ross announced my lecture from  
the rostrum, urging the students to attend. He also took me  
through the University, the Library and the Agricultural Department,  
and was altogether a very charming host. That was food for the  
reactionary press, who let loose on Professor Ross. Fortunately,  
it was shortly before his departure for China, or he certainly  
would have been dismissed from his post. Such are the academic  
liberties in the United States.

The next college town was Ann Arbor, Michigan. When  
I arrived there I found a Bedlam. Five hundred students, ~~with~~  
with whistles, bells, horns and every other imaginable Indian  
device to make noise, howled and screamed and insisted they would  
not ~~listen~~ per- it me to speak. There was only one other woman  
outside of myself who ventured into that hall. It looked very  
threatening. Some of the students suggested that we call the  
police, to which I did not consent. I decided to pull through  
the meeting or to die in the attempt. Then I began to speak  
students howled like wolves. I then told them that it is a  
contest of endurance; that I happened to come from a race which  
owned its survival to endurance, and that I had all the patience  
in the world to wait until they will have their fill in noise.  
That seemed to have affected them, because they let me go on, ~~with~~  
with only occasional interruptions. Before I was half through  
they became intensely interested, and when I finished, they gave  
the College yell for Emma Goldman. From that time, I had won the  
heart of the students, and Ann Arbor, which I revisited several  
times a year.

Between 1911 and 1914, I carried my work, published  
Mother Earth, and prepared a series of lectures on the drama for  
publication, without much interruption. But in the summer of  
that year, new trouble began. It was during the free speech of  
the I.W.W. in San Diego, and while I lectured in Los Angeles that

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groups of the boys came back to Los Angeles, after they had been cruelly beaten, tarred and feathered, and runned out of the city. They came in a terrible condition. It was also during that time that one of the boys, Mikolechek, was riddled by bullets from the Vigilantes, and that other I.W.O. boys by the hundreds were thrown into prison. I, therefore, decided to throw in my lot with them, to go to San Diego, and to participate in the fight. I chose as my subject, The Enemy of the People, which seemed to me very opportune for the San Diego situation. I went there with Ben Reitman. On our arrival, we found a mob of a thousand people. I had no idea that they came to welcome me. We quietly pushed through and went to the auto-bus of the Grant Hotel. I must have been recognized, because a wild rush for the bus was made. Well-dressed women stood up in their automobiles ~~that they~~ and screamed,

"Turn her over to us; we'll tear her rotten tongue out of her. We'll tear her to pieces".

Fortunately, the driver, retained presence of mind. He dashed us along the street like mad, so we managed to escape the wild mob for the moment. Arriving in the hotel, we were rushed up to the top floor, and locked in rooms. We knew it was dangerous to communicate with any of our friends, and there was no way of getting in touch with anybody, so we simply waited for the events to follow. At seven o'clock in the evening, the manager of the hotel, came to my room to say that the Police Chief wanted to see me. Accompanied by Reitman, I went down to the office, but there found seven men standing about in a circle. I was told that the Chief and the State Attorney were in the next room, and that they wanted to see me, and not Reitman. When I reached the room, I found a lot of officials; one of them pointed to the street, black with people, and then said

"We have no way of controlling the mob, so if you value your life, you will have to get out of town".

I asked the man to let me address the audience from the

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7  
By the elevator, I passed the room where I had left Reitman. It was empty. I demanded to know what had become of him; but no one would give me information. I paced my own room until two in the morning, trying to decide what to do, when again the manager of the hotel came to me. He assured me that Reitman was safe and now on the way to Los Angeles. He said that he had given me protection as long as he could, but if I remained I would jeopardize his life, as the Vigilantes had threatened him if I did not leave town. Of course, I decided to go. At the station I had an encounter with some of the Vigilantes, and would probably have lost my life there if the railway men had not come to my rescue. They almost carried me to the compartment of the train, locked the doors, and stood guard in front of it.

When I came to Los Angeles, there was no Reitman. But during the day I received a long distance telephone that he would arrive in the evening. He had to be taken off the train in a stretcher. He was in a terribly bruised condition, with the tar and feathers still sticking to him. We then learned the following story:

Just as soon as I left the room, the seven men threw themselves on him, gagged and bound him, dragged him out through the back entrance into a waiting automobile, with seven occupants. On the outskirts of the city, there was another automobile, also with seven occupants. Reitman was driven 30 miles out of San Diego, was then stripped, terribly beaten, the letters I.W.O. burned on his back with a lighted cigar, when he was subjected to a appalling humiliation, finally tarred and feathered, and told ~~me~~ never to return to San Diego.

The men said to him:

"You think we are working men; we are bankers, lawyers, doctors, American patriots; we will teach you damned foreigners".

That closed the first San Diego experience.

In 1915, when I reached the Coast, we again went to San Diego. We were met on the station by detectives and rushed off to jail. From 9 a.m. until 1 p.m. a wild mob surrounded the

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12130

old data  
Paul Collins  
Dell, April 1904

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jail and for four hours clamored for Reitman. The mob came ready with ropes to lynch him. The Chief of Police came to my cell and said that if we do not consent to get out of town, the mob would break into the jail and take out Reitman. For some reason, they no longer wanted me, but they could not forgive Reitman's impudence of returning to San Diego after his experiences. As I could not risk Reitman's life, I consented to leave San Diego, but determined to try again and again until I would have established my right of free speech.

Early in 1916, I was arrested for birth control activities. I had lectured on birth control for many years; in fact, was the first woman in America to treat the subject before large audiences; but I had never discussed methods publicly. In 1916, I decided to go the limit. The first attempt was tried in the Sunrise Club, a literary society which met at dinner every fortnight for the discussion of all social subjects. I gave methods before that gathering first, in the presence of a lot of newspaper men. But I was not arrested after that. I then delivered the same lecture at one of my usual Sunday meetings before a large and distinguished audience, in the presence of many detectives. I was so sure that I could be arrested that I had friends ready to bail me and Mr. Weinberger to take charge of the case. But nothing happened. Realizing that those who need birth control methods most are the working people, I carried a lecture to the East Side. But even there nothing happened. We were already beginning to rejoice that the New York police had become "reasonable",—but that was expecting the impossible.

I then delivered the same lecture to another large meeting on the East Side. A week later, as I was about to enter a hall, I was arrested, placed under bail, and held for trial for disseminating knowledge on birth control. I conducted my own trial, but was convicted, of course, and given either \$100 fine, or two weeks in the Queen's County Jail. I preferred the latter. I needed the rest badly, and I also had to prepare a number of lectures on the war and on some literary subjects. The jail was the best place for it.

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My trial and imprisonment marked the beginning of the intensive birth control agitation in New York.

After my release I went on my annual tour, which took me to California. I had wonderful meetings in Los Angeles, where I delivered six lectures on Nietzsche, six lectures on American literature, discussing Poe, Emerson, Thoreau and Walt Whitman, and a number of lectures on the war.

San Francisco was always a very good field for my work. The first week of this visit was record-breaking; then, on the 22d of July, a bomb was thrown in the Preparedness Parade. Immediately, Alexander Berkman's and my name, were connected with the act. Berkman, who had lived in San Francisco for a year, and was publishing The Blast, had his place raided, and grilled for hours as to the bomb, of which, needless to say, neither he nor I had any idea. I continued for three weeks longer after the explosion, but my meetings were attended mostly by detectives. The strain and the anxiety quite affected my health. I left San Francisco determined to take a vacation, the first in many years. I went to Provincetown, Mass., where my niece had a cottage. But the situation in San Francisco, and the condition of the arrested people, Mooney and the others, necessitated immediate action. No San Francisco lawyer would take their case at the time. I was bombarded by letters and telegrams to go to New York to secure an attorney for Mooney. There was nothing else to do but to give up the vacation and again throw myself into the work. It was a terrible year, as we all expected that Mooney and the others would lose their lives. Indeed, they came nearly doing so; that they remained alive is due to a large extent to the incessant activities of Alexander Berkman, who travelled up and down the land, knocking at every labor organization, arousing the liberal and radical elements, and making of the Mooney case an international affair.

In 1917, when there was talk of America's entering the war, we organized a Non-conscription League. That was on the 9th of May; on the evening of the 18th, just when Wilson declared war upon Germany, the League held its first large meeting. In June ~~Neither Earth~~ magazine was published.

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as a corpse. Mother Earth irrevocably declared itself against registration, conscription, and the war. On the 4th of June, the eve of registration, we had a large meeting in the Bronx. For blocks the people crowded to get into the hall. The police came out with machine guns, searchlights, and every other means to create a riot; but the people kept themselves wonderfully. The only rioters were drunker sailors and soldiers. Then, on the 14th of June, we had another meeting on the East Side. There were no serious disturbances anywhere, but there were large crowds who hated America's entry into the war, and who were enthusiastic that someone had the courage to articulate their opposition.

The 15th of June, fourteen detectives came to the office of Mother Earth and The Blast which, by the way, had been removed to New York. Both places were raided, most of our literature, manuscripts and documents confiscated, and Berkman and I were arrested.

The rest you know. What I have written here are merely the bare facts of the difficult life I have led for many years. In fact, I can say that during 30 years I never knew until the last minute before getting on the platform whether my meeting would take place, or whether I would be dragged off to prison. But, as I have often said, if you have a sense of humor, you can survive everything. Besides, the art of an ~~exaggerated~~ agitator of unpopular ideas, consists in being in the station house and in a hotel with the same grace.

Nietzsche said that "the criterion of love is the power of endurance". If so, America deserves my passionate love, for it has made me endure a thousand hells, but it has also given me what is best and finest in America,--men and women of ideas, of character and of a passionate devotion to the struggle for liberty; so I have no complaints to make.

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12134

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*[The page contains several large, illegible handwritten signatures or scribbles.]*

# 568

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-440-

Kette

1475

| to closer communion with my parents.

On my way to New York I thought much about my frequent talks with Ed in regard to my taking up a course of medicine. It had been my aspiration when I was still in Koenigsberg, and my studies in Vienna had again awakened that desire. Ed had seized upon the idea with enthusiasm, assuring me he would soon be able to pay my way through college. My arrangements to <sup>have</sup> ~~have~~ Yegor in New York with us and to assist him would, however, postpone the realization of my ~~hope~~ hope of becoming a doctor. I also feared Ed might resent the new obstacle and dislike having my brother in the house. I would certainly not force him on Ed. In that case I should have to secure a place for Yegor.

I found Ed in splendid condition and fine spirits. Our little apartment looked festive, as my sweetheart always made it on my home-comings. Far from objecting to my plans about Yegor, Ed immediately consented to have him: with my brother in the house -- he said -- he would not feel so lonely during my absences. Did Yegor talk much? he inquired <sup>anxiously</sup> ~~anxiously~~. ~~He himself could sit for hours~~ without uttering a word, and he was greatly relieved when I told him that Yegor was a studious and reticent boy. As to my ~~proposed~~ <sup>might be able to</sup> study of medicine, Ed was confident that ~~we~~ <sup>that we should</sup> ~~could~~ carry out the idea before long.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Re-type

-464-

Re-type

1476

ities. The urge of sharing the fate of his comrades was more important than anything else. And yet Albert passionately loved life. His fine spirit manifested itself even in his last moments. Far from giving way to rancor or lamentations, Parsons intoned his favorite song "Annie Laurie", its strains ringing in his prison cell on the very day of execution.

My journey from Denver to San Francisco through the Rocky Mountains was replete with new experiences and sensations. I had looked at the Swiss mountains ~~from Basle and Geneva~~ when I had stopped for a few days in Switzerland on my way from Vienna. ~~(Whether I had not been close enough then or because the~~  
~~But the sight of the~~ Rockies ~~was~~ <sup>was awe-inspiring.</sup> austere and forbidding, ~~I was much~~  
~~more impressed by the latter.~~ I could not free myself from the thought of the puerility of all man's efforts. The whole human race, myself included, appeared like a mere blade of grass, so insignificant, so pathetically helpless in the face of those crushing mountains. They terrified me, yet held me by their beauty and grandeur. But when we reached the Royal Gorge, and our train slowly picked its way  
along the winding arteries hewn by the <sup>hand of toil,</sup> ~~labor of man,~~  
Labor,

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V. 17/12

1477

Luocheni's act had evidently struck terror into the hearts of the crowned and even the elected rulers, between whom the bonds of sympathy were apparent. They declared in unison that steps must be taken to exterminate all the Anarchists. They might as well have tried to dip the ocean out with a bucket. But panio knows no reason. The secret conclaves of the powers resulted in the decision to hold an international anti-Anarchist congress in Rome. The revolutionary and liberty-loving elements in the United States and Europe realised the impending danger to freedom of thought and expression, and immediately set to work to stem the tide. Everywhere demonstrations and meetings were held to protest against the international conspiracy of authority. In New York no hall could be found where my appearance would be tolerated.

In the midst of this work came an urgent request from the Alexander Berkman Defense Association in Pittsburgh for greater activity in behalf of his pardon. The case, which was to be heard in September, was now set for December 21st. The attorneys advised that the decision of the Pardon Board would largely depend on the stand <sup>of</sup> Andrew Carnegie ~~would~~ <sup>they urged</sup> take in the matter and therefore ~~it would be necessary~~ <sup>an inane</sup> to see the steel magnate. It was ~~an~~ suggestion

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its old ring. It was heartrending to see our "giant oak" beginning to break.

Funds to carry out Sasha's undertaking had to be raised under cover of a supposed new legal move. Only very few comrades could be told about the real object for which the money was needed. The man who could help most was S. Yanofsky, the editor of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme, the Yiddish Anarchist weekly. He had only recently come from England, where he had edited the Arbeiter Freund; he was clever and wielded an incisive pen. I knew him as a worshipper of Most, which was no doubt the reason for his antagonistic attitude towards me at our first meeting. His sarcastic manner had made a disagreeable impression on me, and I disliked having to approach him. But it was for Sasha's sake, and I <sup>went</sup> ~~endeavored~~ to see him.

Much to my surprise I found Yanofsky very much interested and willing to help. He expressed doubts about the chances of the plan's success, but when I informed him that Sasha was desperate at the thought of continuing eleven more years in his grave, Yanofsky promised to do his utmost to raise the necessary money. With <sup>"Jensen"</sup> ~~the same~~ and several other reliable friends in Pittsburgh to look after the undertaking, and with Yanofsky to assist with the financial end, my

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who lived in the same direction. At my door I bade him goodbye and immediately went to bed.

I awoke from a ghastly dream that terrified me by lightning and rumbling. But the thunder and crashing of things seemed to continue and presently I became aware that it was real, happening next door, in Ed's room. He must be crazed by drink, I thought. Yet I had never seen Ed intoxicated to the extent of losing control of himself. What had happened to make Ed so violent as to come home and smash up things in the middle of the night? I wanted to call, to cry out to him, but I was ~~somehow restrained by~~ *somehow restrained by* the continued clatter of objects falling and breaking. After a while he subsided and I heard Ed throw himself heavily on the couch. Then all was quiet.

I kept awake, my eyes burning, my heart beating tumultuously. At daybreak I dressed hastily and opened the door separating my room from Ed's. The sight was appalling: the floor was littered with broken furniture and china; the sketch Fedya had made of me, and which Ed had cherished as his greatest treasure, lay torn and trampled upon, its frame smashed. Table and chairs were overturned and broken. In the midst of the confusion lay Ed, half-dressed, fast asleep and breathing heavily. In

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as the soloist. The Russian Balalaika Orchestra, Wagner performances and a recital by Ysaye, the magician of the violin, were rare treats. I enjoyed them especially when in the company of Max, with whom I felt the harmony of a true friendship cemented by ~~spiritual kinship~~. One of our favorite places was the Théâtre Libre, managed by Antoine. It was the only dramatic venture in Paris worth seeing. With the exception of Sarah Bernhardt, the Coquelins and Mme. Réjane, the Paris stage impressed me as declamatory. Compared with Eleonore Duse even "Divine Sarah" appeared theatrical. The one play in which she was her great self was Cyrano de Bergerac, with Coquelin playing Cyrano to her Roxane. The group ~~had abolished the star system; their ensemble~~ under Antoine, ~~had abolished the star system; their ensemble~~ ~~the acting was of the highest order.~~ *acting was of the highest order.*

During my stay in Europe I could not correspond with Sasha directly. Our letters passed through a friend, entailing long delays. Sasha was permitted to write only one letter a month; on rare occasions, thanks to the friendship of the prison chaplain, he would be allowed an extra letter. In order to keep in touch with as many correspondents as possible, Sasha had devised a scheme of dividing his writing paper into four, five or even six separate parts, each

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Ritche

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in the paper."

With fainting heart I thought of Sasha -- his terrible disappointment at the failure of the project, the disastrous consequences, his desperate position. Sasha again thrust back into the black hopelessness of eleven more years in his inferno. What now? What now? I must go back to America at once, I decided. I should have never gone away! I had failed Sasha, I felt; I had left him when he needed me most. Yes, I must go back to America as quickly as possible.

But that very afternoon a cable from "Ibsen" prevented my putting the plan into immediate action. "Sudden illness. Work suspended," the message read. "Sailing for France," I would have to wait until his arrival. -- there was nothing else I could do.

The nervous tension of the days that followed would have been beyond my endurance were it not for the intensive work I had to do. Within a fortnight "Ibsen" <sup>appeared.</sup> ~~arrived.~~ I hardly recognised him: the change he underwent since I saw him in Pittsburgh was appalling. The big strong Viking had grown very thin, his face ashen and covered with blisters full of pus.

As soon as Tony at last got in touch with him -- "Ibsen" related -- he went to Pittsburgh to attend to the preliminary arrangements. His first impression of Tony was not very favorable. He seemed obsessed



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## A WOMAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY.

By EMMA GOLDMAN

The title is perhaps misleading because, in a technical sense, I am not without a country. Legally I am a "subject of His Britannic Majesty". But in a deeper, spiritual sense I am indeed a woman without a country, as I shall try to make plain in the course of this article.

To have a country implies, first of all, the possession of a certain guarantee of security, the assurance of having some spot you can call your own and that no one can alienate from you. That is the essential significance of the idea of country, of citizenship. Divested of that, it becomes sheer mockery.

UP to the World War citizenship actually did stand for such a guarantee. Save for an occasional exception in the more backward European countries, the native or naturalized citizen had the certainty that somewhere on this globe he was at home, in his own country, and that no reversals of personal fortune could deprive him of his inherent right to have his being there. Moreover, he was

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at liberty to visit other lands and wherever he might be he knew that he enjoyed the protection of his citizenship.

But the War has entirely changed the situation. Together with countless lives it also destroyed the fundamental right to be, to exist in a given place with any degree of security. This peculiar and disquieting condition of affairs has been brought about by an usurpation of authority that is quite incredible, nothing short of divine. Every government now arrogates to itself the power to determine what person may or may not continue to live within its boundaries, with the result that thousands, even hundreds of thousands, are literally expatriated. Compelled to leave the country in which they happen to live at the time, they are set adrift in the world, their fate at the mercy of some bureaucrat vested with <sup>authority</sup> ~~power~~ to decide whether they may enter "his" land. Vast numbers of men and women, even of children, have been forced by the War into this terrible predicament. Hunted from place to place, driven hither and thither in their search for a spot where they might be permitted to breathe, they are never certain whether they may not be ordered at any moment to leave for other parts --- where the same fate is awaiting them. Veritable Wandering Jews, these unfortunates, victims of a strange perversion of human reason that dares question any person's right to exist.

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From every "civilised" country men and women may now be expelled any time it suits the police or the government. It is not only foreigners who are thus virtually driven off the face of the earth. Since the World War citizens are also subject to the same treatment. Citizenship has become bankrupt; it has lost its essential meaning, its one-time guarantee. Today the native is no more safe in "his own" country than the citizen by adoption. Deprivation of citizenship, exile and deportation are practiced by every government; they have become established and accepted methods. So common are these proceedings that no one is any more shocked by them or made sufficiently indignant to voice an effective protest. Yet, for all their "legality", denaturalisation and expatriation are of the most primitive and cruel inhumanity.

The War has exacted a terrific price in the stupendous number of human lives lost, men maimed and crippled, countless hearts broken and homes destroyed. But even more fearful is the effect of that holocaust upon the living. It has dehumanised and brutalised mankind, has injected the poison of hatred into our hearts, has roused man's worst instincts, made life cheap, and human safety and liberty of the smallest consideration. Intolerance and reaction are rampant, and their destructive spirit is nowhere so evident as in the growing despotism of official authority and in its autocratic attitude toward all criticism and opposition. A wave of political dictatorship is sweeping Europe, with its inevitable evils of irresponsible arbitrariness and oppression. Funda-

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mental rights are being abolished, vital ethical conceptions scorned and flouted. Our most precious possession, the cultural values which it has taken centuries to create and develop, are being destroyed. Brute force has become the sole arbiter, and his verdict is accepted with the servile assent of silence, often even with approval.

In Italy Fascism foully assassinates its non-conformist Matteotti; in Tsarist Russia they are shot without hearing or trial, or are administratively buried in the wilds of Siberia; in Spain, as of old, inquisition silences the heretic; in Hungary and Poland, in Rumania and Bulgaria the hand of the executioner knows no rest. Alas, even in free America the spirit of the Ku Klux is the master of life.

Man's memory is very short-lived and he is prone to forget important events even of recent occurrence. That is particularly the case in regard to a country whose tempo of life is as fast and exaggerated as that of the United States. It is therefore not out of place to recall to mind the outstanding features of American life within the past decade.

Until 1917 the United States had fortunately not become affected by the internecine madness which was devastating the Old World. The idea of war was very unpopular, and American sentiment was virtually unanimous against mixing up in the European imbroglio. Then, suddenly, the entire situation changed; a peace-insisting nation was transformed, almost over night, into a martial maniac run

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smack. A study of that strange phenomenon would no doubt be an interesting contribution to our understanding of collective psychology, but the subject is outside the present discussion. Here it must suffice to recollect that, after having elected Woodrow Wilson President because he "had kept them out of war", the American people were somehow persuaded to join the European war. The President's decision, very unwillingly concurred in by a no-war Congress, had the effect of changing the entire psychology of the United States. The tranquil country became a land of flaming jingoism, and a deluge of intolerance and persecuting bigotry overwhelmed the people. The vials of mutual suspicion, of hatred and compulsion were poured out from North to South and from East to West, setting man against man and brother against brother. In the halls of legislation the spirit of the new militarism manifested itself in draconic laws passed against every critic and protestant.

The sanguine European struggle for territory and markets was proclaimed a holy crusade in behalf of freedom and democracy, and mass forcible conscription was hailed as "the best expression of a free citizenry". The war orgy evidenced a psychosis on a nation-wide scale never before witnessed in the United States. Compared with it the temporary American aberration that followed the violent death of President McKinley, in 1901, was a mere flurry. On that occasion, as will be remembered, the Federal Gov-

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ernment rushed through special legislation outlawing everything that indicated the least symptom of non-conformism or dissent. I am referring to the notorious anti-anarchist laws, which for the first time in the history of the United States introduced the principle of government by deportation. Persons suspected of anarchist tendencies, disbelievers in organized government, were not to be allowed entry to the United States, the land of the free; or, if already there, could be sent out of the country within a period of three years. According to that law men like Tolstoy and Kropotkin would have been refused permission to visit the United States, or deported if found within its boundaries.

That law, however, product of a short-lived panic, virtually remained a dead letter. But the war-time psychosis revived the forgotten anti-anarchist statutes and broadened them to include everyone who was *persona non grata* to the powers that be, without the benefit of time limitation. There began a national hunt for "undesirables". Men and women were gathered in by the hundred, arrested on the street or taken from their work bench, to be administratively deported, without hearing or trial, frequently because of their foreign appearance or on account of wearing a red shawl or necktie.

The war cyclone, having swept Europe, gained increased momentum in America. The movement to make the world safe for democracy and liberty, solidly supported by the "liberal" intelligentsia of press and pulpit, made the United States

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the most dangerous place for democrat and libertarian. An official reign of terror ruled the country, and thousands of young men were literally driven into the army and navy for fear of their neighbors and of the stigma of "slacker" cast upon everyone in civilian dress --- cast mostly by idle ladies of fashion who ~~went~~ paraded the streets to aid the cause of "humanity". Everyone who dared raise his voice to stem the tide of the war mania was shouted down and maltreated as an enemy, an anarchist and public menace. Jails and prisons were filled with men and women ordered deported. Most of them were persons that had lived many years in their adopted country, peacefully following their vocations; some of the others had spent almost their entire lives in America. But length of sojourn and useful occupation made no difference. The great Government of the United States stooped even to the subterfuge of secretly depriving naturalised citizens of their citizenship, so as to be able to deport them as "undesirable foreigners".

Future historians will wonder at the peculiar phenomenon of American war psychology: while Europe experienced its worst reaction as a result of the war, the United States -- in keeping with its spirit of "get there first" --- reached its greatest reactionary zenith before entering the war. Without warning, as it were, it forswore all its revolutionary traditions and customs, openly and without shame, and introduced the worst practices of the Old World.

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With no more hesitation than necessity it transplanted to America methods of autocracy which had required centuries to develop in Europe, and it initiated expatriation, exile and deportation on a wholesale scale, irrespective of any considerations of equity and humanity.

To be sure, the pacifist intellectuals who prepared America for war solemnly insisted that the summary abrogation of constitutional rights and liberties was a temporary measure necessitated by the exigencies of the situation, and that all war legislation was ~~to~~ to be abolished as soon as the world would be made safe for democracy. But more than a decade has passed since, and ~~in~~ in vain I have been scanning American newspapers, journals and magazines for the least indication of the promised return to normalcy. It is easier to make laws than to abolish them, and oppressive laws are particularly notorious for their longevity.

Poor America! With its habitual recklessness it has outdone the effete Old World in ~~its~~ "preparedness". The former great democracy of Thomas Jefferson, the land of Paine and Emerson, the one-time rebel against State and Church, has turned persecutor of every social protestant. The historic champion of the revolutionary principle, "No taxation without representation", compelled its people to fight in a war waged without their consent! The refuge of the Garibaldis, the Kossuths and Schurzses practices deportation of heretics! America, whose official functions always begin with a prayer

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to the Nazarene who had commanded "Thou shalt not kill", has imprisoned and tortured men who scrupled to take human life, and has hounded those who proclaimed "peace and good will on earth". Once a haven for the persecuted and oppressed of other lands, the United States has since shut its doors in the face of those seeking refuge from the tyrant. A new twentieth-century Golgotha for its "foreign" Saccos and Vanzettis, it silences its native "undesirables", its Mooneya and Billingses, by burying them alive in prison. It glorifies its flying Lindbergs, but damns their thinking fathers.\*) It crucifies manhood and expatriates opinion.

The practice of deportation places America, in a cultural sense, far below the European level. Indeed, there is less freedom of thought in the United States today than in the Old World. Few countries are as unsafe for the man or woman of independence and idealism. Here no offence more heinous there than an unconventional attitude; every crime may be forgiven but that of unapproved opinion. The heretic is anathema, the iconoclast the worst culprit. For such there is no room in the great United States. In a singular manner that country combines industrial initiative and economic self-help with an almost absolute taboo against ethical freedom and cultural expression. Morals and behavior are

\*) The father of Charles Lindberg, together with other "irreconcilables" in Congress who shared Senator La Follette's attitude to the war, was denounced as a public enemy.

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Prescribed by draconic censorship, and woe to him who dares step out of the beaten path.

Truly has Dostoyevsky spoken in branding man "a scoundrel who gets used to everything". We are apt to be shocked by some atrocity, but let the same be sufficiently often repeated, and our indignation becomes blunted and we subside into total indifference. The first collective deportation of "undesirables" by the American Government roused a great clamor by public and press. But that outrage has since been followed by numerous others without calling forth the least protest. Yet it may be said without exaggeration that in the entire history of the United States there has been no greater iniquity than this high-handed and inhuman method of dealing with the social agnostic and political skeptic.

The principle of deportation is in its very essence an abrogation of traditional American guarantees of freedom and of the Constitution itself. For the most fundamental liberty is "the right to think, to know and to utter", as Milton expressively put it. To exile, banish or deport any one for entertaining unpopular opinions is the worst tyranny. To label certain views as illegal is the height of despotism. More -- it is a crime against progress and civilization, because every step forward depends on the liberty to think and to express our thoughts. It has been wisely said that truth will stand by itself; only error needs the support

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of authority and compulsion. The purpose of suppression is not to eliminate error but to stifle truth.

The juvenile stupidity of the attempt! For if the past teaches anything at all, it is the immutable lesson that ideas cannot be exiled and that deporting their banner-bearers has never yet silenced man's yearning for things better and higher. All history is proof of it, from Socrates down to the last conscientious objector. Pity the land devoid of the social heretic and political unbeliever! Mankind would still be in the stage of tree-climbing but for the innovator in thought and deed, the men and women of independence and daring, the defiers of the established and approved. The historic role of these lawbreakers and "undesirables" has been to pave the way to greater achievement in every field of endeavor. It can be easily demonstrated that not a single step forward has ever been taken by man but as a result of the selfless idealism and devotion of this social element, be it in the domain of ethics and religion, in science and letters, in art and industry. Their corpses strew the path of progress, but when dead long enough they are acclaimed saints and canonized. The living ~~and~~ "undesirables", however, must face expatriation and the contumely of the world and rest content in the consciousness of the great work to be done, even at the price of possible death. Because, as Emerson so well said, "It will never make any difference to the hero what the laws are".

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It is particularly ludicrous for a political democracy like the United States to resort to Old World methods of suppressing thought. In a monarchy the autocrat may indulge in such practices with some appearance of logic, for where the master is absolute he might as well decree what views are good and permissible and what are bad and forbidden. But in a republic, where the little autocrats are elective and their rule at best of short duration, the sight of the transitory Tsar presuming to dictate eternal verities must surely call forth the wrath of the gods.

By substituting rule by deportation for its fundamental law, America has recorded itself thoroughly reactionary. It has erected formidable barriers against its cultural development and progress. In the last analysis such policies are a means of depriving the people of the finer values and higher aspirations, and blocking the road to a better civilisation. The great body of labor is, of course, the most direct victim of this menace. It is designed to stifle industrial discontent, to eliminate the spokesmen of popular unrest, and subjugate the inarticulate masses to the will of the masters of life.

Unfortunately it is the workers themselves who are the main bulwark of reaction. No body of toilers in any country is as mentally undeveloped and so lacking in economic consciousness as the American Federation of Labor.

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The horizon of their leaders is sadly limited, their social short-sightedness positively infantile. Their role in the World War days was most pitiful and subservient in their vying to outdo each other as trade drummers for the Moloch of slaughter. They championed the most reactionary measures, too fatuous to understand that the same will remain a post-war weapon in the hands of the employers of labor. They learned nothing from past experience and have forgotten the lesson of the Sherman Law, passed by the efforts of the workers to check the industrial trusts but since applied by the American courts to weaken and enasculate the organisations of labor. As was to be foreseen, the "temporary" war legislation, sponsored by the American Federation of Labor, is now being used in the industrial struggles against the toilers.

The war reaction in America, of which expatriation and deportation were the extreme expressions, has also manifested itself in various other ways. Every channel of life has become affected by it. Repression is its keynote: the non-conformist and iconoclast are to be eliminated. Those who cannot, for one reason or another, be exiled or deported, or whom it is not considered expedient to drive out of the country, are turned over to the tender mercies of the censor, the police, the courts, and the night riders of the official and unofficial Ku Kluxers. The social heretic, the political and labor rebel are hounded with all the fury of hundred-percent fanaticism. Expression of proscribed opinion is not to be tolerated, and the arm of

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the law is laid heaviest upon the political offender whose existence, as such, America is "too enlightened and democratic" to recognise. The ordinary law-breaker has greater opportunity to secure legal justice than the mentally "undesirable". If provided with money and able lawyers the average criminal can have his day in court; neither the authorities nor the public have, as a rule, any special interest in depriving him of his liberty or life, except upon the merits of his case, in accordance with legal precedent and forms. Not so with the political victim. Denunciation is sufficient in his case; all ethical concepts are suspended, even established legal procedure nullified. He must be punished and silenced, whatever the circumstances of the situation. This attitude has developed a regular system of "framing up", with a complete machinery of hand-picked juries, manufactured evidence, perjured witnesses and compliant courts, supported by the "third degree" and terror methods of police and government functionaries. It is enough to mention Massachusetts or California, the State of Washington or of North Carolina, to characterise the nature of "justice" meted out to the political and labor "undesirables", foreign as well as native. All in the war-time sign of "making the world safe for democracy".

Fortunately, thrice fortunately, there is an inherent sense of humanism in man's heart that cannot be entirely stifled for very long. Thanks to it, the world is slowly beginning to get over the mental gassing of the war period. The more humane tendencies are gradually reasserting them-

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selves. Evidence of it is daily multiplying, particularly in the more progressive countries of Europe. How eternally true it is that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church! The scorned and persecuted conscientious objector is about to witness his triumph. His spirit is abroad, conquering the hearts of mankind, even though he himself be still flouted. Millions throughout the world are coming to hate human slaughter and turning their backs upon war. This changed attitude is reflected in the stand of the great powers favoring limitation of armaments and even the total outlawing of war. Why this sudden conversion on the part of the governments? Surely not because they love their fellow-men more, but because they are compelled to harken to the people's voice more.

The revival of humanism is a most hopeful sign. Literature and art, always the first spring-signs of awakening, are breathing a new and purer atmosphere. The same tendency is finding expression in the field of education, in our altering viewpoint regarding children and the rearing of the young. Old prejudices are giving way to better understanding, and we are learning that the tingling rod is not the best instructor. We are perceiving that freedom and opportunity for growth accomplish more than repression and restraint. In our dealing with the social unfortunates, the insane, the juvenile offender and even the hardened criminal we are beginning to apply more humane, modern methods. We are coming to see, in short, that not suppression but enlightenment is

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what the world needs, and that not less but more liberty is the way of progress and the cure for existing evils.

This realisation is growing in every channel of activity, in all forms of endeavor --- in all, save one and that the most vital of them all. In our social psychology we still remain far behind. The iconoclast and the rebel are still "the enemy", and all authority is being concentrated to crush him. As pacifist or conscientious objector, as independent thinker or libertarian to whom red fascism is as hateful as black, as revolutionist, I.W.W. or anarchist --- in whatever form social, political and industrial humanism may express itself --- he is still the "undesirable" to be ferreted out. Hounded and persecuted in every land, these refugees from psychic chauvinism are being driven from pillar to post.

It was Fridtjof Nansen, the famous explorer, who was one of the first to realise the far-reaching effects of the war psychosis in relation to these expatriated. He introduced the special passport that bears his name and which is designed to insure at least a modicum of safety to the increasing number of refugees. Because of Nansen's great services in organising the millions of homeless and parentless children during the war, the League of Nations was induced to approve his project and establish the so-called Nansen passport. Few countries, however, recognise its validity, and that half-heartedly, and in no case does it guarantee its holder <sup>against</sup> ~~exile and~~ deportation. But the very fact of its existence goes to prove the havoc wrought by post-war

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developments in the matter of citizenship and the utterly wretched situation of the thousands of expatriated and countryless.

It should not be assumed that the latter consist mostly of political refugees. In that huge army of exile there are great numbers of entirely a-political people, of men and women whom territorial rapacity and the Versailles "peace" have deprived of their country. Most of them do not even get the benefit of the Nansen passport, since the latter is intended only for the political refugees of certain nationalities. Thus thousands find themselves without legal papers of any kind, and in consequence may not be permitted to stay anywhere. A young woman of my acquaintance, for instance, a person who has never been interested in any social or political activities, is at this very moment adrift in this Christian world of ours, without the right of making any country her home, without fatherland or abode, and constantly at the mercy of the passport police. Though a native of Germany, she is refused citizenship in that country because her father (now dead) was an Austrian. Austria, on the other hand, does not recognise her a citizen because her father's birthplace, formerly belonging to Austria, has by the terms of the Versailles treaty become part of Rumania. Rumania, finally, declines to consider the young woman as a citizen on the ground that she is not a native, had never lived in the country, does not speak its language and has no relatives there. The unfortunate woman is literally without a country, with no

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legal right to live anywhere on earth, save by the temporary toleration of some passport officials.

Still more hazardous is the existence of the vast army of political refugees and expatriated. They live in ever-present fear of being deported, and such a doom is equivalent to a sentence of death when these men are returned, as is only too often the case, to countries ruled by dictatorships. Quite recently a man I know was arrested in the place of his sojourn and ordered deported to his native land, which happened to be Italy. Had the order been carried out, it would have meant torture and execution. I am familiar with a number of cases of political refugees not permitted to remain in the countries where they had sought refuge and deported to Spain, Hungary, Rumania or Bulgaria, where their lives are in constant jeopardy. For the arm of reaction is long. Thus Poland has on several occasions lately decreed the deportation of Russian political refugees to their native country, where the Tchecha executioner was ready to receive them. It was only through the timely intercession of influential friends abroad that the men and their families were saved from certain death. European despotism reaches even across the seas, to the United States and South America; repeatedly politicals of Spanish and Italian descent have been deported to their native lands as an act of "courtesy" to a friendly power.

These are not exceptional instances. Large numbers of refugees are in a similar position. Not to speak of the thousands of non-politicals, denaturalised and expatriated

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and despoiled of abode. In Turkey and France, to mention two countries only, there are at present over half a million of them, victims of the World War, of Fascism, of Bolshevism, of post-war territorial changes and of the mania for exiling and deporting. Most of them are being merely tolerated, for the time being, and are always subject to an order to "move on" --- somewhere else. Lesser but still very considerable numbers are scattered throughout the world, particularly in Belgium, Holland, Germany and in the various countries of Southern Europe.

There is nothing more tragic than the fate of those men and women thrown upon the mercy of our Christian world. I know from personal experience what it means to be torn out of the environment of a lifetime, dug out by the very roots from the soil you have had your being in, compelled to leave the work to which all your ~~interests~~ energies have been devoted, and <sup>to</sup> part from those nearest and dearest to you. Most disastrous are the effects of such expatriation particularly on persons of mature age, as were the greater number of those deported by America. Youth may adapt itself more readily to a new environment and acclimatise itself in a strange world. But for those of more advanced age such transplantation is a veritable crucifixion. It requires years of application to master the language, custom and habits of a new land, and a very long time to take root, to form new ties and secure one's material existence, -- not to speak of the mental anguish and agony a sensitive person suffers in the face of wrong and inhumanity. So far as I myself am concerned, I have been fortunate

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indeed in the possession of an ideal devotion to which does not depend on geographical boundaries. It is this that has enabled me to continue my work in spite of denaturalisation and deportation. In exile as in America my interests remain the same, as can be seen by the literary work I have done since I left the United States, while the past eighteen months I have been engaged in writing my autobiography, which is to be published in the near future by Alfred Knopf.

Born in Russia, where I received my first impressions of life and nature, I have spent the greater part of my conscious existence in the United States. Though no longer legally a citizen of either, I feel myself <sup>very</sup> close~~st~~ to both, closer than to any other land. For to me country does not represent mere locality or some precinct limited by nationalist lines. Citizenship, to me, has the deeper significance of "belonging", of feeling oneself a part of a certain environment, of a certain atmosphere. "My country" is defined culturally rather than geographically. To use a homely but descriptive simile, the difference of being ~~a~~ merely a citizen and having a country is, in my view, that between living in a furnished room and dwelling in a house that one has himself helped to build. The difference is not, of course, in the area occupied but in the character of the place. It is a psychic difference, a difference of conception and attitude.

In that sense~~d~~, in the deeper significance of spiritual values, I feel the United States "my country". Not, to be

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sure, the United States of the Ku Kluxers, of moral censors in and out of office, of the suppressionists and reactionaries of every type. Not the America of Tammany or of Congress, of respectable inanity, of the highest skyscrapers and fattest moneybags. Not the United States of petty provincialism, narrow nationalism, vain materialism and naive exaggeration. There is, fortunately, another United States --- the land of the Walt Whitmans, the Lloyd Garrisons, the Wendell Philipases. The country of the Young America of life and thought, of art and letters; the America of the new generation knocking at the door, of young men and women with ideals, with aspirations for a better day; the America of social rebellion and spiritual promise, of the glorious "undesirables" against whom all the exile, expatriation and deportation laws are aimed.

It is to that America that I am proud to belong.

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## THE RADICAL — A PROPHET OR A FAILURE?

By EMMA GOLDMAN

(SYNOPSIS)

Has my life and activity as a radical and revolutionary been a failure?

What have I been working and hoping for? What has my life-work accomplished?

Active radicals and weak-kneed compromisers. The middle-headed American "liberal".

The strange position of the uncompromising radical in the world today. An alien and an exile, there is no place for him in any country.

His triumph and his tragedy; his attitude to existing conditions justified by events; his vision of a better world unrealized.

The breakdown of political democracy and modern industrialism. America leading the world to financial ruin and economic chaos.

Russia, the new hope of millions, a failure and a menace.

The destructive spirit of our age: the machine becomes the master of man, the real values of life perverted with fatal results.

Legislation of Revolution? The inherent contradictions in our civilization. The symptoms pointing to the birth of a new social form.

Does Revolution ever accomplish its full aim? Historic parallels. The Bolshevik miscarriage.

Deported from America, I find myself also an exile from Russia. Why is the true radical disillusioned in Russia?

The failure of Socialism in Russia, Germany, England and other countries. What is wrong with political parties and governmentalism.

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THE RADICAL — 2

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The mob spirit dominating life: political Fascism,  
economic imperialism and financial monarchism.

Present world-wide tendency to dictatorship. America the  
worst frame-up against human progress and true culture.

My every real radical, like myself, must be an exile  
everywhere in the world today.

My my faith in my ideal of a cooperative world econ-  
omy is strengthened by the break-down of present-day institutions.

EMMA GOLDMAN

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## THE DISENCHANTED RADICAL

### SYNOPSIS

A striking example of the disenchanted radical — myself.

Of course, I am only one among thousands of disenchanted radicals in every country in the world today.

The two types of radicals: the compromising parlor pacifist and the staunch revolutionary.

American pacifist intellectuals and weak-kneed middle heads. Brown forty, fat and (in some cases) famous, they have either made peace with the powers that be or have embraced Moscow.

Woodrow Wilson pacifists and Newton Baker quakers making war and war-producing treaties.

America, the financial dictator of the world; and Russia, the Bolshevik conqueror of the world.

The proletarian paradise, Russia, the greatest sham and delusion. The red flag and revolutionary phrases masking the worst despotism. The modern reversal to feudalism.

The example of Russia spreading the spirit of Fascism — red and black — throughout the world.

Mussolini as the Latin disciple of Lenin. Hitler Fascism in Germany, Austria and other European countries.

Fascism in America: individual and social Klu Klux spirit. The United States as the economic dictator of the world, its policies and life.

My own attitude to present-day Fascism. The entire world turned into a prison: ideals deported, independent thought and effort banished.

The tragedy of the disenchanted radical is the tragedy of our entire civilization.

Our machine age ruled by the mob spirit of quantity and vulgar success. The idealist in life, art and letters is doomed to be an exile.

My personal position and experience: a woman without a country.

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Disenchanted Radical — 2

My experience in America: prison, deportation and exile.

The destructive spirit of our age: the Frankenstein of militarism devouring Europe; American industrialism breaking down under its own weight.

The break-down of our civilization. The failure of all Socialist experiments.

The last hope of the disenchanted radical and — of the world: the cooperative world commonwealth.

EMMA GOLDMAN

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**Sexuality; Birth Control; Love and Jealousy; On  
Feminists and Feminism**

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" Mary Wollstonecraft, her tragic life, and her passionate struggle for freedom.

The Pioneers of human progress are like the Seagulls, they behold new coasts, new spheres of daring thought, when their coo voyagers see only the endless stretch of water. They send joyous greetings to the distant lands. Intense yearning burning faith pierce the clouds of doubt, because the sharp ears of the garbingers of life discern from the maddening roar of the waves, the new message, the new symbol for humanity.

The latter does not grasp the new; dull and it meets the pioneer of truth with misgivings and resentment, as the disturber of its peace, as the annihilators of all stable habits and traditions.

Thus the pathfinders are heard only by the few because they will not thread the beaten tracks and the mass lacks the strength to follow into the unknown.

In conflict with every institution of their time since they will not compromise, it is inevitable,

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that ~~they~~ the advance guards should become aliens to the very one they wish to serve, that they should be isolated shunned and repudiated by the nearest and dearest of kin. Yet the tragedy every pioneer must experience, is not the lack of understanding, it arises from the fact that ~~that~~ having seen new possibilities for human advancement the pioneers can not take root in the old and with the new still far off they become outcasts roamers of the earth, restless seekers for the things they will never find.

They are consumed by the fires of compassion and sympathy for all suffering and with all their fellows, yet they are compelled to stand apart from their surroundings nor need they ever hope to receive the love their great sorrow, for such is the penalty of a great spirit, that what he receives is but nothing compared to what he gives.

Such was the fate and tragedy of Mary Wollstonecraft, that she gave to the world to those she loved towered high above the average possibility to receive, nor could her

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burning yearning soul content itself with the miserly crumbs that fall from the barren tables of the average life.

Mary Wollstonecraft came into the world at a time when her sex was in chattel slavery owned by the father while at home and passed on as a commodity to her husband when married. It was indeed a strange world that Mary entered into on the 27th of April 1759, yet not very much stranger than our own. For while the human race has no doubt progressed since that memorable moment, Mary Wollstonecraft is still very much the pioneer, far ahead of our own time.

She was one of many children of a middle class family, the head of which lived up to his rights as man by tyrannizing his wife and children and squandering his capital in idle living and feasting. Who could stay him, the creator of the universe? As in many other things so have his rights changed little, since Mary's father time.

The family soon found itself in dire want, but how were middle class girls to earn their own living with every

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Closed to them. They had but one calling that was marriage, Mary's sister probably realized that, she married a man she did not love in order to escape the misery of the parents home. But Mary was made of different material, a material so finely woven it could not fit into coarse surroundings. Her intellect saw the degradation of her sex and her soul always at white heat against every wrong rebelled against the slavery of half of the human race. She determined to stand on her feet. In that determination she was strengthened by her friendship with Fannie Blood, who herself had made the first step, towards emancipation by working for her own support. But even without Fannie Blood as a great spiritual force in Mary's life, nor yet even without the economic factor, she was destined by her very nature to become the Iconoclast of the false Gods whose standards the World demanded her to obey. Mary was a born rebel one who would have created rather than submitted to any form set up for her.

It has been said that nature uses a vast amount of human material to create one genius.

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the same holds good of the true rebel, the true pioneer. Mary was born and not made through this or that individual incident in her surroundings. The treasure of her life, the wisdom of her life, philosophy, the depth of her World of thought, the intensity of her battle for human emancipation and especially <sup>her</sup> indomitable struggle for the liberation of her own sex, are even to day so far ahead of the average grasp, that we may indeed claim for her the rare exception which nature has created but once in a century. Like the Falcon who soared through space in order to behold the Sun and then paid for it with his life, Mary drain the cup of tragedy for such is the price of wisdom.

Much has been written and said about this wonderful champion of the 18th Century, but the subject is to waste and still very far from being exhausted. The woman's movement of to day and especially the suffrage movement will find in the life and struggle of Mary Wollstonecraft that would show them the inadequacy of mere external

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LongxxxxxxStatexxMarxVindicationxxifxxRites

To make herself economically independent, Mary first taught school and then accepted a position as governess to the pampered children of a pampered lady, but

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but she soon realized that she was unfit to be a servant and that she must turn to something that would enable her to live, yet at the same time would not drag her down. She learned the bitterness and humiliation of the economic struggle. It was not so much the lack of external comforts, that galled Mary's soul but it was the lack of inner freedom which results from poverty and dependence which made her cry out, "How can anyone profess to be a friend to freedom yet not see that poverty is the greatest evil", she wrote.

Fortunately for Mary and posterity, there existed a rare specimen of humanity, which we of the 20th Century still lack, the daring and liberal Publisher Johnson. He was the first to publish the works of Blake of Thomas Paine of Godwin and of all the rebels of his time without any regard to material gain. He also saw Mary's great possibilities, and engaged her as proof reader, translator and contributor to his paper, he became her most devoted friend and

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He did more, he became her most devoted friend and  
advisor, in fact no other man in Marys life was so staunch  
and understood her difficult nature, as did that  
rare man. Nor did she ever open up her soul as unreservedly  
to any one as she did to him. Thus she writes  
in one of her analytical moments

"Life is but a jest. I am a strange compound,  
of weakness and resolution. There is certainly a  
great conflict in my mind, my wayward heart creates its  
own misery. Why I have been made thus I do not know  
and until I can form some idea of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the whole  
of my existence, I must be content to weep and dance  
like a child. long for a toy and be tired of it as soon  
as I get it. We must each of us wear a fools cap, but  
mine alas has lost its bells and is grown so heavy,  
I find it intolerably troublesome.

That Mary should write thus of herself to  
Johnson shows that there must have been a beautiful

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comradeship between them. At any rate thanks to her friend she found relief from the terrible struggle. She found also intellectual food. Johnson rooms were the rendezvous, of the intellectual elite of London, Thomas Paine, Godwin Dr Prdyce the Painter Fueseli, and many others gather there to discuss all the great subjects of their time.

Mary came into her sphere and became the very center of that intellectual bustle. Godwin relates how he came to hear Tom Paine at an evening arranged for him, but instead he had to listen to Mary Wollstonecraft, her conversational powers like everything else about her inevitably stood in the centre of the stage.

Thus Mary could soar through space her spirit reaching out to great heights. The opportunity soon offered itself. The erstwhile champion of English liberalism, the great Edmund Burke, delivered himself of a sentimental sermon against the French Revolution, he had

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met the fair Marie Antoinette, and bevailed her lot at the hands of the infuriated people of Paris. His middle class sentimentality saw in the greatest of all uprisings only the surface and not the terrible wrongs the French people endured before they were driven to their acts. But Mary Wollstonecraft saw and her reply to the mighty Burke, *The Vindication of the Rights of Man* is one of the most powerful pleas for the oppressed and disinnerted ev

ade.

It was written at white heat, for Mary had followed the Revolution intently, her force her intusiasm and above all her logic and clarity of vision proved this erstwhile school mistress to be possessed of a tremendous brain and of a deep and passionately throbbing heart. That such should emanate from a woman was like a bomb explosion, unheard of before, it shocked the world at large but gained for Mary the respect and affection of her male contemporaries. They felt no doubt, that she was not only their equal but in many respects superior to

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most of them.

"What you call yourself a friend of liberty," she tells Bourke, ask ~~your own~~ your own heart whether it would not be more consistent to style yourself the champion of Property, the adorer of the golden image which power has set up?"

Security of Property! behold in a few words the definition of English liberty. But softly, it is only the property of the rich that is secure, the man who lives by the sweat of his ~~hand~~ his brow, has no asylum from oppression.

Think of this wonderful penetration in a woman more than 150 years ago. Even to day there are few among our so called reformers certainly very few among the women reformers who see as clearly as this giant of the 18th Century. She understood only too well that mere political changes are not enough, and do not strike deep into the evils of Society.

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Mary Wollstonecraft on Passion "The regulating of passion is not always wise. On the contrary, it should seem that one reason why men have a superior judgment and more fortitude than women is undoubtedly this, that they give a freer scope to the grand passion and by more frequently going astray enlarge their minds."

Drunkedness is due to lack of better amusement rather than to innate viciousness, crime is often the outcome of superabundant life.

The same energy which renders a man a daring villain would have rendered him useful to society had the society been well organized.

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Mary was not only intellectual, she was as  
says herself possessed of a wayward heart, that is she  
craved love and affection. It was therefore but natural  
for her to be carried away by the beauty and passion of  
the Painter Fuseli, but whether he did not reciprocate  
her love, or because he lacked courage at the critical  
moment Mary was forced to go through her first experience  
of love and pain. She certainly was not the kind of a woman  
to throw herself on any man's neck, Fuseli was an easy  
going lucky sort and easily carried away by Mary's beauty,  
but he had a wife and the pressure of public opinion was  
too much for him. Be it as it may Mary suffered keenly and  
fled to France to escape the charms of the artist.

Biographers are the last to understand their subject,  
else they would not have made so much ado of the Fuseli  
episode, for it was not else, had the loud mouthed Fuseli  
been as free as Mary to gratify their sex attraction, Mary  
would probably have settled down to her normal life. But

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but he lacked courage and Mary having been sexually starved could not easily quench the aroused senses.

However it required but a strong intellectual interest to bring her back to herself. And that interest she found in the stirring events of the French Revolution:

however it was before the Fuseli incident that Mary added to her *Vindication of the Rights of Man* the *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, a plea for the emancipation of her sex. It is not that she held man responsible for the enslavement of woman, Mary was too big and too universal to place the blame on the one sex, she emphasized the fact, that woman herself is a hindrance to human progress because she persists in being a sex object rather than a personality, a creative force in life. Naturally she maintained that man has been the tyrant so long that he regrets any encroachment upon his domain, but she pleaded that it was as much for his as for woman's sake that

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she demanded economic political and sex freedom for women as the only solution of the human emancipation.

The laws respecting women make an absurd unit of a man and his wife and then by the easy transition of only considering him as responsible, she is reduced to a mere cypher".

Nature has certainly been very lavish when she fashioned Mary Wollstonecraft. Not only has she endowed her with a tremendous brain but she gave her great beauty and charm, she also gave her a deep soul, deep both in joy and sorrow. Mary was therefore doomed to become the prey of more than one infatuation. Her love for Fuseli soon made way for a more terrible more intense love; the greatest force in her life, one that tossed her about as a willess helpless toy in the hands of fate.

Life without love for a character like Mary is inconceivable, and it was her search and yearning for love which hurled her against the rock of inconsistency

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14

and despair.

While in Paris, Mary met in the house of T Paine where she had been welcomed as a friend, the vivacious handsome and elemental [illegible] American [illegible]. If not for Mary's love for him the World might never have known of this Gentleman Not that he was ordinary, Mary could not have loved him with that mad passion which nearly wrecked her life. He had distinguished himself in the American war and he [illegible] one or two, but on the whole he would never have set the [illegible] World on fire. But he set Mary on fire and held her in a trench for a considerable time.

The very force of her infatuation for [illegible] excluded harmony, nor is it a matter of blame as far as [illegible] [illegible] is concerned, he gave her all he could, but her insatiable hunger for love could never be content with a little, hence the tragedy. Then too, he was a roamer, an adventurer, an explorer into the territory of female [illegible]

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He was possessed by the wanderlust, 'could not rest at peace long anywhere. Mary needed peace, she also needed what she had never had in her family, the quiet and warmth of a home. But more than anything else she needed love, unreserved passionate love. Imray could give her nothing and the struggle began shortly after the mad dream had passed.

Imray was gone away from Mary at first under the pretext of business. He would not be an American to neglect his love for business. His travels brought him as the Germans say to other cities and other loves. As a man that was his right, equally so was it his right to deceive Mary. That she must have endured only those can appreciate who have themselves known the same.

Imray brought her pregnancy with Imray's child. Mary cried for the man, begged and called, but he was gone. A poor chap did not know, that all the wealth in the world could not make up for the wealth of Mary's love.

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The only consolation she found was in her work, she wrote. The French Revolution right under the very influence of the tremendous drama! Kean as she was in her observation, she saw deeper than Bourne, beneath all the terrible loss of life, she saw the still more terrible contrast between poverty and riches and all the bloodshed was in vain so long as that contrast continued. Thus she wrote:

... if the aristocracy of birth is leveled with the ground only to make room for that of riches, ... an altered that the moral of the people will not be much improved the change. Everything appears to be that no new principles are changed. She realized in Paris what she had predicted in her attack on Bourne, that the demon of property has ever been at the head of the march on the sacred rights of man.

With all her work Mary could not forget her love. It was after a vain and bitter struggle to bring

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Imlay to her that she attempted suicide. She failed and to get back her strength she went to Norway on a mission for Imlay. She recuperated physically but her soul was scared and bruised. Mary and Imlay came together several times but it was only dragging out the inevitable, then came the final blow, Mary learned that Imlay had other affairs and that he had been deceiving her, not so much out of mischief as out of cowardice.

She then took the most terrible and desperate step, she threw herself into the chamber after waiting for hours to get her clock set that she may surely die. Of the inconsistencies, try the superficial priorities, she was it?

In the struggle between her intellect and her passion Mary had suffered a defeat, ~~and when~~ she was too cold and too strong to survive such a terrible blow, what else was there for her but to die?

Fate that had plaid so many pranks with Mary Wollstonecraft killed it otherwise. It brought her back

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18 to life and hope, only to kill  
her at their very doors

She found in Godwin the first representative  
of Anarchist Communism, a great and tender comrade,  
not of the wild primitive kind but of the quiet nature  
warm sort, that shows one like a cold hand upon a  
burning forehead. With him she lived consistently in  
her own freedom and apart, each having his own life  
sharing the joy and sorrow of each other.

Again she was about to become a mother,  
not in stress and pain as the first time, but in peace  
and surrounded by kindness. At so early a time,  
that Mary had to pay for her life for the sake of her  
little girl Mary Godwin, she died for the sake of  
barely 36 years of age. Her confinement with the first child  
though under the most arduous circumstances, as mere  
play, or as she wrote to her sister, an excuse for staying  
in bed. "Yet that tragic time demanded its victim, Fanny

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Fannie Inlay died of the death her mother failed to find  
she committed suicide by drowning, while Mary Wollstone-  
craft Godwin became the wife of the sweetest lark of  
liberty, Shelly.

Mary Wollstonecraft the intellectual  
genius the daring fighter of the 18th 19th and 20th Century  
Mary Wollstonecraft the woman and lover, was doomed to  
pain because of the very wealth of her being, with all her  
affairs she yet was pretty much alone, as every great so  
must be alone, no doubt that is the penalty for greatness

Her indomitable courage in behalf  
of the disinherited of the earth, has alienated her  
from her own time and created the discord in her being  
which alone accounts for her terrible tragedy with Inlay  
Mary Wollstonecraft aimed for the highest summit of human  
possibilities, she was too wise and too worldly not to  
see the discrepancy between her world of ideals and her

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her world of love that caused the break of the sting of her delicate complicated soul.

Perhaps it was best for her to die at that particular moment. For he who has ever tasted the madness of life can never again adjust himself to an even tenor. But we have lost much and can only be reconciled by what she has left and that is much. Had Mary W. not written a line her life would have furnished food for thought, but she has given both, she therefore stands among the world's greatest, a life so deep so rich so exultantly beautiful in her complete humanity.

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## CAUSE AND POSSIBLE CURE OF JEALOUSY.

No one at all capable of an intense conscious inner life need ever hope to escape mental anguish and suffering. Sorrow and often despair over the so called eternal fitness of things are the most persistent companions of our life. But they do not come upon us from the outside, through the evil deeds of particularly evil people. They are conditioned in our very being, indeed they are interwoven through a thousand tender and coarse threads with our existence.

It is ~~really~~ <sup>absolutely</sup> necessary that we realize this fact, because people who never get away from the notion that their misfortune is due to the wickedness of their fellows never can outgrow the petty hatred and malice which constantly blames, condemns and bounds others for something that is inevitable as part of ourselves. No people will rise to the lofty heights of the true humanitarian to whom good and evil, moral and immoral, are but limited terms for the inner play of human emotions upon the human sea of life.

The beyond "good and evil" as philosopher Nietzsche is at present denounced as the perpetrator of national hatred and machine gun destruction; but readers and bad pupils are they who attempt such a thing. Beyond "good and evil" means beyond prosecution, beyond judging, killing, etc. "Beyond good and evil" opens before our eyes a vista the background of which is individual assertion combined with ~~each~~ <sup>the</sup> understanding of <sup>all</sup> ~~others~~ <sup>who</sup> ~~around the~~ <sup>who</sup> ourselves who are different.

By that I do not mean the clumsy attempt of Democracy to regulate the complexities of human character by means of external equality. The vision of beyond good and evil points to the right ~~not~~ to one self, to one personality. Such possibilities do not exclude pain over the chaos of life, but they do exclude the Puritanic righteousness even in judgement on all others, except ones self.

It is self evident that ~~then~~ <sup>the</sup> thorough ~~radicalism~~ radical - there are many half-baked ones you know, must apply this deep humane recognition to the sex

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and love relation.

Unfortunately, this is not the case. The most intimate relation is subject to proscriptions, regulations and coercions, yet these external factors are absolutely alien to love, and as such lead to everlasting contradiction, and so flout between love and law.

The result of it is that our love life merged into ~~filth~~ and degradation  
"pure love" so much called by the poets in the present matrimonial, divorce,  
and <sup>alien</sup>~~amputation~~ examples, is a rare specimen indeed. With money, social s-  
tanding, and position as the criterion of love, prostitution is quite in-  
evitable, even if it be covered with the mantle of legitimacy and morality.

The most prevalent evil of our mutilated love life is jealousy, often described as the "green-eyed monster" who lies, cheats, betrays and kill. The popular notion is, that jealousy is inborn, therefore never can be eradicated from the human heart. This idea is a convenient excuse for those w

*Be study of*  
lack ability and willingness to delve into the material of cause and effect

ingulfed by a self-love, over the broken thread of love's continuity is indeed inherent in our very beings. Emotional sorrow has supplied many sublime lyrics, such profound inside and poetic exultation of a Byron, Shelley, Keats and ~~many~~ <sup>innumerable</sup> their kind. But will anyone compare this <sup>grief</sup> ~~passion~~ with what commonly passes as jealousy? They are as unlike, as wisdom and stupidity. As refinement and coarseness. As dignity and brutal coercion. Jealousy is the very reverse of understanding, of sympathy, and of gener-

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(2)

ous feeling. Never has jealousy added to character, never ~~has~~ does it make the individual big and fine. What it really does is to make him blind with fury, petty with suspicion and ~~hard~~ <sup>harsh</sup> with envy.

Jealousy the contortions of which we see in the matrimonial <sup>tragedies</sup> and comedies is invariably a one sided bigoted accusery, convinced of his own righteousness and the meanness, cruelty and guilt of his victim. Jealousy does not even attempt to understand, its one desire is to punish and to punish as severely as possible. This notion is embodied in the code of honor as represented in duelling, or the unwritten law. A code <sup>which</sup> ~~that~~ will have it, that the seduction of a ~~woman~~ woman must be atoned with the death of the seducer. Even where seduction has not taken place where both have voluntarily ~~yielded~~ yielded to the innermost urge, honor is restored only when blood has been shed, either that of the man or the woman.

Jealousy is <sup>disposed</sup> ~~adjudged~~ by the sense of possession and vengeance. It is quite in accord with all other primitive laws upon the statutes, which still adhere to the barbarous ~~notion~~ <sup>notion</sup>, that an offence, often merely the result of social iniquities, must be adequately punished or revenged.

A very strong argument <sup>against</sup> ~~in~~ contention on behalf of jealousy is to be found in the ~~historical~~ data of historians like Morgan, Leach and others, as to the sex relation among primitive people. Anyone at all conversant with their works, <sup>regards</sup> ~~thinks~~ that monogamy is a much later sex form which came into being as a result of the domestication of and ownership of woman, and which ~~event~~ <sup>event</sup> created the sex monopoly and the inevitable feeling of jealousy.

In the past, when men and women intermingled freely with ~~interference~~ <sup>out</sup> interference with ~~offences~~ of law and morality, there could be no jealousy, because the latter rests upon the assumption that a certain man has an exclusive sex monopoly over a certain woman, and vice-versa. The moment ~~when~~ anyone dares to trespass this sacred precinct, jealousy is up in arms.

Under such circumstances it is ridiculous to say that jealousy is perfectly natural. As a matter of fact it is, the artificial result of an artificial cause, nothing else. Unfortunately it is <sup>not</sup> ~~is~~ only conservative marriage,

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which is saturated with the notion of sex monopoly--the so called free unions, are victims to it. The argument may be raised that this is one more proof ~~more~~ for Jealousy as an inborn trait. But it must be borne in mind that sex monopoly has been handed down from generation to generation, as a sacred right and the basis of purity of the family and the home. And just as the church and the state accepted sex monopoly as the only security to the marriage tie, so have both justified jealousy as the legitimate weapon of defense, for the protection of the property right.

Now, while it is true that a great many people have outgrown the legality of sex monopoly, they have not outgrown its traditions and habits, therefore they become so blinded by the "green eyed monster," as their conservative neighbors, the moment that their possessions are at stake.

Man or woman free and his chosen not to interfere, or to pass over the attractions of the loved ones, is sure to be derided by his conservative and ridiculed by his radical friends. He will either be derided as a degenerate or a coward; often enough <sup>even</sup> from pretty material motives will be imputed to him. In an event the man or woman will be the target for coarse gossip or dirty jokes; for no other reason, except that they conceded to their <sup>to their</sup> instinct or loved the right of ~~their~~ bodies and their emotional expression, with or without jealous scenes or wild threats to kill the intruder.

There is another factor in jealousy, the conceit of the male and the <sup>are often</sup> ~~male~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~female~~. The male in matters sexual, is an intruder, a braggart and forever boasts of his exploits and success with women. He insists on playing the part of a conqueror, since he has been told that women want to be conquered, that they love to be seduced.

Feeling himself the only cock in the barn-yard, or the bull who must clash with another in order to win the cow he feels mortally wounded in his conceit and arrogance, the moment a rival appears on the ~~scene~~ <sup>even</sup> ~~the scene~~ <sup>other</sup> scene, the so called refined men, continues to be woman's sex love, which must belong to only one master.

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(8)

In other words the endangered sex joins only together with man's outraged vanity in ninety-nine cases out of the hundred are the antecedents of jealousy. In the case of woman economic fear for herself and children and her petty envy of every other woman who gains grace in the eyes of her supporter invariably create jealousy. In justice to woman be it said, that for centuries past, physical attraction was her only stock in trade, therefore she must ~~needs~~ needs become envious of the charm and value of other women as threatening her hold upon her precious property.

The grotesque phase about the whole matter is, that men and women often grow violently jealous of those, they really do not care much about. It is therefore not their outraged love, but their outraged once conceit and envy which cry out against this "terrible wrong."

Likely as not the woman never loved the man whom she now suspects and spurns from. Likely as not she never made an effort she never tried to win his love. But the moment a competitor arrives, the woman's value for sex property, for the defense of which means are too despicable and cruel.

Obviously, then, jealousy is not the result of love. In fact it is more possible to investigate most cases of jealousy, it would be found, that the less people are imbued with a great love the more violent and contemptible. <sup>as their jealousy is</sup> Two people bound by inharmony and oneness are not afraid to impair their mutual confidence and security if one or the other has outside attractions, nor will their relations <sup>and</sup> in the unity, as is only too often the case with many people. They may not be able, nor ought they be expected to receive the affection of the loved one, into the intimate of their lives, but it <sup>choice</sup> that does not give him or her the right to deny the necessity of that attraction.

As I shall discuss another variety <sup>and in sweeter form to night</sup> of monogamy, I will not dwell here either here, except to say that to look upon people that can love more than one as perverse or abnormal, is to run the very ignorant indeed. I have already discussed a number of causes for jealousy to which I must add the institution of marriage which the state and church proclaim as "the bond

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until "death doth part." This is accepted as the ethical mode of right living and right doing.

With love in all its variability and changeability, fettered and cramped, it is small wonder ~~that~~ if jealousy arises out of it. What else but pettiness means suspicion ~~mean~~ and rancor can come when man and wife are officially held together with the formula "from now on you are one in body and spirit." Just take any couple tied in such a manner, dependent upon each other for every thought and feeling; without an outside interest or desire and ask yourself whether such a relation must not become hateful and unbearable in time.

In some form or other the fetters are broken and as the circumstances which bring this about are usually low and degrading it isn't at all surprising that they bring into play the basest and meanest human traits and motives.

In other words legal, religious and moral interference are the parents of our present ~~present~~ love and sex life, and out of it jealousy has grown. It is the cause which ~~the~~ why a and tortures poor mortals because of their stupidity, ~~prejudices~~ ignorance and prejudice.

But no one need to attempt to justify himself on the ground of being a victim of these conditions. It is only too true that ~~the old~~ <sup>we all</sup> start under the burdens and iniquitous social arrangements, under coercion and moral all those. But are we not conscious individuals, whose aim it is to bring truth and justice into human affairs? The theory that man is a product of conditions have led only to indifference and to a sluggish acquiescence to these conditions. Yet every one knows that adaptation to an unhealthy and unhealthy mode of life only strengthens, both, while man the so-called crown of all creation, equipped with a capacity to think and see above all to employ his powers of initiative ~~those~~ <sup>greater</sup> over weaker, more passive, more fatalistic.

In this sense I speak of a possible cure of jealousy, after I have attempted to prove that its <sup>cause</sup> ~~course~~ lies in our coerced crippled love-life.

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(7)

I hold that every man and woman can help to cure jealousy. The first step towards this is a recognition, that they are neither the owners or controllers or the dictators over the sex functions of the wife or the husband.

The second step is that they both grow too proud to accept <sup>love</sup> ~~love~~ or affection which is not gladly or voluntarily given. Anything offered out of duty, because of the ~~the~~ marriage license isn't the genuine thing, it is ~~an~~ counterfeit. Whatever we attempt to hold by force, by jealous threats or ~~scenes~~ <sup>scenes</sup>, through crying and sniping, through mean tricks and ~~evil~~ <sup>evil</sup> tortures is not worth keeping. It only leaves a bad taste behind and the mind and heart destroying doubt as to whether or no we have succeeded in bringing back the wayward love.

There is nothing more terrible and fatal than to dig into the vitals of one's loved ones and one's self, since it only helps to tear whatever slender threads of affection still <sup>in</sup> ~~adherent~~ in the relation and finally brings us to the last ditch, which jealousy attempts to prevent—namely, the annihilation of love, friendship and respect.

Jealousy is indeed a poor medium to secure love, but it is a secure medium to destroy one's self respect because jealous people like soap-flounders stoop to the lowest level in the end they only inspire disgust and loathing. (Anguish over the loss of love or a non-reciprocated love with those who are capable of high and fine thoughts will never make them coarser. Those who are sensitive and fine have only to ask themselves whether they can tolerate and obligatory relation. An emphatic no would be the reply. But most people continue to live near each other although they have long ceased to live with each other—a life fertile enough for the operation of jealousy whose methods go all the way to opening of private correspondence to murder.

Compared with such horrors, open adultery seems as an act of courage and liberation.

There is a strong shield against the vulgarity of <sup>jealousy</sup> ~~marriage~~ that man and wife are not of one body and one spirit. That they are two human beings.

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(8)

of different temperament, feelings and emotions. Each is a small cosmos in himself, ~~and~~ engrossed in his own thoughts and ideas. It is glorious and poetic if these two worlds meet in freedom and equality. Even if this lasts but a short time it is already worth while. But, the moment the two worlds are thrust together all the beauty and fragrance ceases and nothing but dead leaves remain. Whoever grasps ~~this~~ the truism will consider jealousy beneath him and will not permit it to hang as a demodée sword over him.

All lovers do well to leave the doors of their love wide open. When love can go and come without fear of ~~leaving the~~ <sup>meeting</sup> ~~watching~~ watch-dog jealousy will rarely take root because it will soon learn that where there are no locks and keys there is no place for suspicion and distrust, two elements upon which ~~jealousy~~ jealousy thrives and prospers.

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ALONG RECREATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL LINES

YIELDS THE MOST SATISFACTORY RESULTS.

*Concluded*

THE CREATIVE SPIRIT IS NOT AN ANTIDOTE  
TO THE SEX INSTINCT, BUT A PART OF ITS FORCE-  
FUL EXPRESSION. (IT ACTS IN A CONSERVATIVE  
MANNER AND UTILIZES THE INSTINCT FOR FORMS  
OF SATISFACTION THAT ARE NOT MERELY PROTECTIVE  
IN CHARACTER, BUT LEAD ON TO ITS GREATER  
DEVELOPMENT, ITS BROADENING AND DEEPENING IN  
ITS IMPRESS UPON INNATE CHARACTER AND POWERS  
OF SELF-DIRECTION AND CONTROL. THE NON-  
SEXUAL RELEASE OF ENERGY SOMETIMES SUFFICES  
TO OFFSET THE FUNDAMENTAL NEEDS THAT LIE BACK  
OF THE SEXUAL CRAVING AND, IN FACT, TO TRANS-  
MUTE THEM INTO SELF-SATISFYING AND USEFUL FORMS  
OF EXPRESSION.

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THE MAN WHO EXPRESSED THIS THOUGHT PRO-  
FOUNDLY AND POETICALLY WAS FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE.  
IN "MORALITY AS ANTI-NATURALNESS" HE WRITES:

(ALL PASSIONS HAVE A TIME WHEN THEY ARE  
FATAL ONLY, WHEN, WITH THE WEIGHT OF THEIR  
FOLLY, THEY DRAG THEIR VICTIM DOWN; AND THEY  
HAVE A LATER, VERY MUCH LATER PERIOD, WHEN THEY  
WED WITH SPIRIT, WHEN THEY ARE "SPIRITUALIZED."  
FORMERLY, PEOPLE WAGED WAR AGAINST PASSION  
ITSELF, ON ACCOUNT OF THE FOLLY INVOLVED IN IT,  
THEY CONSPIRED FOR ITS ANNIHILATION. (THE  
MOST NOTABLE FORMULA FOR THAT VIEW STANDS IN  
THE NEW TESTAMENT, IN THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT,  
WHERE, LET US SAY IN PASSING, THINGS ARE NOT  
AT ALL REGARDED FROM AN ELEVATED POINT OF VIEW.  
FOR EXAMPLE, (IT IS THERE SAID WITH APPLICATION  
TO SEXUALITY, "IF THINE EYE OFFEND THEE, PLUCK  
IT OUT." (FORTUNATELY NO CHRISTIAN ACTS

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ACCORDING TO THIS PRECEPT. TO ANNIHILATE  
PASSIONS AND DESIRES MERELY IN ORDER TO OBVIATE  
THEIR FOLLY AND ITS UNPLEASANT RESULTS APPEARS  
TO US AT PRESENT SIMPLY AS AN ACUTE FORM OF  
FOLLY. (THE CHURCH FIGHTS AGAINST PASSION  
WITH EXCISION IN EVERY SENSE, ITS PRACTICE,  
ITS "CURE", ITS CASTRATIONS. IT NEVER ASKS,  
"HOW TO SPIRITUALIZE, BEAUTIFY, AND DEIFY A  
DESIRE?" -- IT HAS, AT ALL TIMES, LAID THE  
EMPHASIS OF DISCIPLINE UPON EXTERMINATION  
(OF SENSUALITY, OF PRIDE, AND AMBITION). --  
BUT TO ATTACK THE PASSIONS AT THE ROOT MEANS  
TO ATTACK LIFE ITSELF AT THE ROOT: THE PRAXIS  
OF THE CHURCH IS INIMICAL TO LIFE.....

THIS TRUISM IS ALREADY RECOGNIZED BY THE  
THINKING. ( BUT ONE PHASE HAS REMAINED,  
NAMELY, THAT SEX THOUGH A POTENT FACTOR MUST  
YET BE HELD IN LEASH BY THE UNMARRIED .

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FORTUNATELY THIS PREJUDICE TOO IS BEING

DEMOLISHED. A RECENT SYMPOSIUM ON "THE

ELEMENT OF SEX IN THE LIFE OF THE UNMARRIED

ADULT" GIVES CLEAR AND ASTOUNDING FACTS ON

THIS SUBJECT. TO QUOTE ONLY A FEW GIVEN BY

DR. IRA WILE IN HIS CONTRIBUTION:

THE UNMARRIED POSSESS THE POTENTIALS OF  
THE MARRIED GROUP TO WHICH THEY ARE DEFINITELY

RELATED BY INTEREST AND PARTICIPATION IN ALL

THE PHASES OF LIFE THAT AFFECT THE WELL-BEING

OF THE MARRIED GROUP. THEIR SEX LIFE, IN

ITS VARIOUS FORMS, IS VITAL TO SOCIAL WELFARE,

JUST AS IT IS SIGNIFICANT FOR THEIR OWN PERSONAL

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

ADMITTEDLY, TO STUDY THIS PHASE OF SEX  
IS TO EXPLORE ONE OF THE UNCHARTED AREAS OF

OUR CIVILIZATION IN WHICH THE RESIDUA OF

*collected by the daughter of Emma Goldman in NY*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

781229013

[Sexual Instinct and Creativity] / Emma Goldman. — (fragment). —  
10 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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BARBARIC IGNORANCE AND FEAR STILL RETARD

PROGRESS. ( OVER ITS DEPTHS APPEARS AN

UNINVITING, MIASMATIC HAZE OF DOUBT AND UN-

CERTAINTY. ( FEW ORGANIZED EXPLORATIONS HAVE

BEEN MADE OF THIS STATE OF UNMARRIAGE. ( HENCE

THIS EFFORT TO MAKE A SURVEY OF THE FIELD FROM

VARIOUS ANGLES REPRESENTS AN EFFORT TO CHART

FACTS. ( TO TRACE CASUAL INFLUENCES, TO DETERMINE

THE VALIDITY AND WORTH OF CURRENT VIEWS, AND

TO ESTABLISH DATA AND HYPOTHESES WHICH MAY BE

OF SERVICE IN INTERPRETING OUR AGE.

( FOR MORE THAN TWO THOUSAND YEARS THE

OFFICIAL GRATIFICATION OF PROCREATIVE URGES

HAS BEEN RELEGATED TO THE SOCIALLY RECOGNIZED

STATE OF MARRIAGE. ( THE ASSUMPTION OF SOCIETY

HAS BEEN THAT ITS AUTHORITATIVE PROHIBITION OF

THE BIOLOGIC MATING URGE WOULD POSTPONE ITS

UTILIZATION UNTIL SUCH A TIME AS THE REQUISITE

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CIVIL OR RELIGIOUS RITE GAVE SANCTION TO ITS

USAGE. IF SOCIETY EXPECTED EXTERNAL REGULA-

TIONS TO SUBJUGATE PHYSIOLOGIC URGES AND

PSYCHOLOGIC IMPULSES, HAVE THESE REGULATIONS

BEEN EFFECTIVE? DO THOSE LIVING IN UNMARRIAGE

LIVE IN CHASTITY AND CELIBACY? ( IF NOT, WHERE-

IN AND HOW DO THEIR SEXUAL BEHAVIORS DIFFER

FROM THOSE EXHIBITED BY FELLOW BEINGS SIMILAR

IN ALL ELSE EXCEPT FOR LIVING IN MARRIAGE?

*do not make candidates  
make only marriage my life*  
( SEXUAL ACTIVITY IS NOT AN ISOLATED ACT -

X IT IS A GENERAL EXPERIENCE MOTIVATING AND

AFFECTING PERSONALITY. ( OUT OF THE TOTAL

PERSONAL REACTION EMERGES IDEAS OF ROMANCE AND

BEAUTY, EXALTATION AND PEACEFULNESS, DEVOTION

AND SLAVISH IDEALIZATION; ( OR, A SENSE OF

SACRIFICE, TUMULT, HUMILIATION, SHAME, ANXIETY,

A DESIRE FOR SELF-PUNISHMENT, OR A SELF-ACCEPTED

WEAKNESS, FAILURE AND INADEQUACY. THE SON-

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CEPT OF "FALLING IN LOVE" MAY APPLY TO SELF.  
TO MEMBERS OF ONE'S OWN OR THE OPPOSITE SEX.  
THERE IS USUALLY A SECOND PERSONALITY THAT  
FACILITATES ONE'S OWN GROWTH IN TERMS OF SEX  
IMPULSES UTILIZED FOR PERSONAL LIFE. THIS  
IS TRUE FOR THE UNMARRIED NO LESS THAN FOR THE  
MARRIED, ALTHOUGH SOCIETY MAKES THE ADJUSTMENT  
A CHALLENGE, A PROPRIETY, A QUESTION.

X HAVELOCK ELLIS, REFERRING TO THE PLAY  
FUNCTIONS OF SEX, REMARKS, "THE FUNCTIONS OF  
SEX ON THE PSYCHIC AND EMOTIONAL SIDE ARE OF  
FAR GREATER EXTENTION THAN ANY ACT OF PROCREATION,  
THEY MAY EVEN EXCLUDE IT ALTOGETHER, AND WHEN  
WE WE ARE CONCERNED WITH THE WELFARE OF THE  
INDIVIDUAL HUMAN BEING WE MUST ENLARGE OUR OUT-  
LOOK AND DEEPEN OUR INSIGHT."

TO INTERPRET THE SEX LIFE OF THE UNMARRIED

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ONE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THERE ARE TWO FUNCTIONS  
OF SEX:

ONE, THE BIOLOGIC, WITH PROCREATION AS A GOAL -  
INVOLVING SOME INTELLECTUAL BUT MORE EMOTIONAL  
PROCESSES IN THE INTEREST OF RACE PERPETUATION.

THE OTHER FUNCTION CONSISTS OF THE PROMOTION  
OF SOCIAL GROWTH THROUGH HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS.

THIS INVOLVES THE PLAY FUNCTION AND EROTIC  
ACTIVITY, WITH OR WITHOUT A PROCREATIVE GOAL.

THERE ARE TWO BASES FOR THE ENERGY OF THE  
SEXUAL DRIVE - ONE, CONSCIOUS, DIRECTED, GUIDED,  
SUBJECTED TO ETHICAL CONTROLS; THE OTHER,  
UNCONSCIOUS, INSTINCTUAL, IMPULSIVE, REACTING  
TO STIMULI, BUT NOT SUBJECT TO REASON.

TWO SOCIAL VALUES ARE OBVIOUS IN SEX  
PRACTICES -- ONE IS THE CREATION OF A SOCIAL  
ECONOMIC UNITY IN SOME FAMILY STRUCTURE;

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WOMAN WHICH CRIES OUT IN PROTEST AGAINST STATEMENTS  
THAT SHE IS MORE TIMID, LESS AGGRESSIVE, MORE JEALOUS  
AND POSSESSIVE IN LOVE, MORE PARASITICALLY INCLINED,  
MORE INCURABLY INFANTILE IN HER OUTLOOK ON LIFE, MORE  
LIKELY TO GIVE HER LOVE TO A PERSON OF THE OPPOSITE  
SEX WHO CAN DOMINATE HER, MORE DEPENDENT ON EMOTIONAL  
EVALUATIONS AND LESS EASILY INTEGRATED INTO SMOOTHLY  
WORKING SOCIAL BODIES THAN IS HER BROTHER. SHE LOOKS  
ABOUT HER AND FINDS ANYWHERE FROM A TRACE TO A LARGE  
SPLASH OF EACH OF THESE TRAITS IN THE MEN SHE KNOWS.  
LOOKING WITHIN, SHE FINDS THAT SHE CANNOT BE JUSTLY  
ACCUSED OF TOTALLY LACKING ANY OF THE SPIRITUAL TRAITS  
WHICH ARE REGARDED AS PECULIARLY MASCULINE.

p226 MODERN WOMAN, BY STRESSING CERTAIN COMPONENTS  
OF HER BISEXUAL NATURE, HAS SHOWN A CAPACITY FOR AGG-  
RESSIVE AND CLEAR-SIGHTED ADAPTATION TO REALITIES  
WHICH SHE COULD NOT MEET IF THE TRADITIONAL DIAGNOSIS  
OF HER SPIRITUAL CONSTITUTION WERE CORRECT. THE

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PRESENCE OF THESE COMPONENTS IN HER MAKE-UP AND THE  
POSSIBILITY OF SETTING THEM IN ACTIVE FUNCTION IS  
REPEATEDLY DISCLOSED BY WOMEN WHO ARE NORMALLY  
HETEROSEXUAL IN THEIR EMOTIONAL LIVES AND NORMALLY  
FEMININE AS TO ENDOCRINE ORGANISATION.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

880710002

On "Birth Control" by Dorothy Dunbar Bromley / Emma Goldman. — (fragment). —  
9 p. ; 30 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

## BIRTH CONTROL

By Dorothy Dunbar Bromley.

WHEN THE GREAT BOTANIST LINNAEUS

DISCOVERED MALE AND FEMALE FUNCTIONS IN PLANTS

THE RELIGIOUS WORLD WAS SCANDALIZED AND BANNED

HIS WRITINGS FOR DECADES. THAT WAS LESS THAN

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO. WHEN THE TIME CAME

FOR DISCOVERY OF BETTERED DEVICES WHEREBY THE

NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND THEIR ARRIVAL COULD BE

DECIDED BY THEIR PARENTS, THESE DEVICES WERE

EXECRATED AS OBSCENITIES WITHIN MARRIAGE AND

AS PROTECTIVES FOR LICENSE. ~~THAT ERA HAS RUN~~

~~ON FOR FIFTY YEARS~~

and this  
still has a long way to go  
church men, physicians  
and the body  
they do not know

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March 1995

Robert Hale

James H. Hall

Francis Place

Brady

and Unrue

Beaumont

du Daydote  
in 1874

and recently  
Dr. Mary Staps

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25 14  
In the United  
States, birth  
control had  
been practiced  
long before  
we moderns  
came on  
the scene  
Hazel Hume  
is her group  
Dda Bradock

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383 48 233

drawn into, seized

by ~~custody~~

~~and~~ ~~gave~~

~~and~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~

~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~case~~

~~will be held~~

~~panel~~

~~and~~ ~~capital~~

~~the~~ ~~case~~

~~myself~~ ~~and~~

~~all~~ ~~the~~ ~~other~~ ~~the~~



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The story of the  
 free woman  
 women and the  
 immortality of  
 off time, get  
 something kept  
 having real  
 Chad, happy  
 and our heads  
 also represent  
 in say dance  
 I say we say  
 all so all  
 nature in it

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21535

11  
P. 11  
of Henry  
as Edward  
and got you  
1550 for  
Sweden  
and, say  
and help  
men to  
A. K. C.

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21536

2  
and present in  
Rosenfeld's  
organization.  
And when the  
whole thing is  
all over, the  
K. K. K. are  
going to be  
fate of the  
people who  
have been  
killed see below

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648

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3  
for unmarried  
good out to  
youthful women  
women, as the  
Medians the  
Denver, my  
Dress, Hamilton  
Dunbar, B. B.  
and K. P. P.  
dedicated for

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2 1 5 3 8

4  
 Van Oostrop  
 Runkles  
 Dec 4 Runkles  
 is Ned Runkles  
 Va. I know  
 son of

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# 650



# The Emma Goldman Papers

870917042

[On "Virtue for Women" by Isabel Leavenworth] / Emma Goldman. — 20 p. ; 25 x 16 cm.

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## VIRTUE FOR WOMEN

Isabel Leavenworth

18 quotes  
n Philosophy  
ACCORDING TO THE PRESENT SYSTEM THERE IS

A STANDARD OF CONDUCT SET UP FOR WOMEN WHICH IS

TO CONSTITUTE VIRTUE. THIS STANDARD IS A

COMBINATION OF SPECIFIC POSITIVE COMMANDS AND,

MORE ESPECIALLY, OF SPECIFIC PROHIBITIONS.

Wishes for  
can't  
THERE ARE CERTAIN THINGS WHICH NO NICE

WOMAN WILL DO -- A GREAT MANY THINGS. IN FACT.

SHE MUST LEARN THEM BY HEART AND ACCEPT THEM

ON FAITH AS THE PYTHAGOREANS MUST HAVE HAD TO

LEARN THEIR CURIOUS LIST OF TABOOS. A LIST

RUNNING FROM THE TABOO AGAINST EATING BEANS TO

THAT AGAINST SITTING ON A QUART MEASURE.

THIS IDEAL OF VIRTUE DOES NOT APPLY

WITH EQUAL RIGIDITY TO MEN; QUITE DIFFERENT

THINGS ARE EXPECTED OF THEM AND ACCEPTED FOR THEM.

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-19

( IT IS OBVIOUS THAT TWO SUCH CONFLICTING IDEAL BY  
THE VERY NATURE OF THEIR COMBINATION WILL PRO-  
DUCE A CLASS OF WOMEN WHO DO NOT LIVE UP TO THE  
STANDARD OF VIRTUE SET THEM AS MEMBERS OF THEIR  
SEX. ( THIS CLASS IS NOT MERELY AN EXCRESCENCE  
BUT AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE SITUATION CREATED  
BY THE TOTAL SEX IDEAL OF SOCIETY.

( THE FUNCTION OF WOMEN OF THIS CLASS IS  
TO MAKE POSSIBLE FOR MEN THE WAY OF LIFE COMMONLY  
CONSIDERED AS SUITED TO THEIR SEX AND TO MAKE  
POSSIBLE A VIRTUOUS LIFE FOR THE REMAINDER OF  
WOMANKIND. ( IN FULFILLING THIS FUNCTION SUCH  
WOMEN LOSE, IN THE EYES OF SOCIETY, THEIR MORAL  
NATURE AND FORFEIT THE RIGHT TO LIVE WITHIN THE  
PALE OF SOCIAL MORALITY. ( THEY ARE CONSIDERED  
UNFIT FOR NORMAL SOCIAL INTERCOURSE AND ARE

652

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20  
21283  
DENIED THOSE RELATIONSHIPS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

WHICH ORDINARILY SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR MORAL

GROWTH.

FROM ALL NORMAL RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD THEM

SOCIETY REGARDS ITSELF AS RELEASED. ( THAT WHICH

IS PERSONAL, THE INNER LIFE, THE CHARACTER,

THE SOUL -- WHATEVER ONE PREFERS TO CALL IT --

HAVING BEEN SACRIFICED IN THE SERVICE OF THE

SOCIAL SCHEME, ONE IS TO TREAT WHAT IS LEFT AS

OF NO VALUE IN ITSELF, ( BUT MERELY AS AN

INSTRUMENT TO BE USED IN THE SERVICE OF MAN'S

PLEASURE OR WOMAN'S VIRTUE.

THE PROSTITUTE IS TO SOCIETY THAT ONE

THING, DEFINED BY THE PURPOSE WHICH SHE SERVES.

AND THAT IS ALL SHE IS. ( ALL SHE IS ALLOWED TO

BE. ( THE DEPERSONALIZATION, THE MORAL NON-

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EXISTENCE, ONE MIGHT CALL IT, OF A LARGE NUMBER  
OF WOMEN IS, THEN, IMPLICIT IN THE SOCIAL SYSTEM  
CURRENTLY ACCEPTED. ( IT IS NOT A PUNISHMENT  
METED OUT TO THOSE WHO FAIL TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE  
WITH THE SOCIAL SCHEME (THOUGH IT IS AS SUCH,  
OF COURSE, THAT SOCIETY DEFENDS IT) BUT IS  
ITSELF AN ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN THE  
SOCIAL SCHEME, AN ELEMENT WOVEN IN AND OUT  
THROUGH THE ENTIRE FABRIC OF CURRENT SEX MORALITY.

IT IS TRUE THAT THE IDEAL OF WOMANLY VIRTUE  
IS ONLY ONE ELEMENT IN THE CONVENTIONAL SYSTEM OF  
~~SEX MORALITY~~. BUT, LIKE A LEIBNITZIAN MONAD,  
IT REFLECTS THE WHOLE UNIVERSE WITHIN ITSELF --  
THE UNIVERSE OF SEX MORES. IT IS IN NO REAL SENSE  
ANY "HIGHER" THAN THE IDEAL BY WHICH MEN HAVE  
LIVED. THEY ARE WARP AND WOOF OF THE SAME FABRIC.

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AND FROM THIS OTHER CLASS OF WOMEN SHE IS, OF  
COURSE, TO KEEP HERSELF ABSOLUTELY SEPARATE,  
DISTINCT. [ I RECENTLY HEARD AN ELDERLY BOSTON  
LADY MAKE A REMARK WHICH EXPRESSES THE HORROR  
COMMONLY AROUSED BY ANY CONDUCT WHICH ENDANGERS  
THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TWO CLASSES.

"DO YOU KNOW," SHE SAID, "I HEARD THAT  
A YOUNG MAN OF OUR SET SAID HE AND HIS FRIENDS NO  
LONGER HAD TO GO TO GIRLS OF ANOTHER KIND FOR  
THEIR ENJOYMENT. [ THEY CAN GET ALL THEY WANT  
FROM GIRLS OF THEIR OWN CLASS."

THIS WAS THE OUTRAGE. THE NICE GIRLS WERE  
ALLOWING THE CLASSES TO BECOME CONFUSED. MUCH  
THE SAME ATTITUDE IS REVEALED IN THE FREQUENT  
REMARK THAT THE YOUNG GIRL OF TODAY APPEARS LIKE  
"ANY CHORUS GIRL" OR LIKE ANY "COMMON WOMAN."

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ACCORDING TO THIS IDEAL IT IS WOMAN'S PRIME DUTY  
TO KEEP ALOOF FROM EVIL. THIS SOUNDS COMMENDABLE  
ENOUGH. AND IT WOULD BE AT LEAST INNOCUOUS IF  
ONE COULD INTERPRET IT AS MEANING THAT WOMAN SHOULD  
HOLD HERSELF ALOOF FROM SOME IMAGINED EVIL THAT  
WOULD BECOME EXISTENT WERE SHE TO EMBRACE IT.

THIS IS NOT, HOWEVER, A POSSIBLE INTERPRETATION  
OF THE VARIED COLLECTION OF PROHIBITIONS WHICH IT  
IS HER DUTY TO RESPECT. THEIR IMPORT IS CLEARLY  
ENOUGH THAT SHE IS TO KEEP ALOOF FROM EVIL WHICH  
IS ALREADY EXISTENT, WHICH IS AN ACKNOWLEDGED  
PART OF HER BACKGROUND.

SHE IS TO SHUN ALL OF THOSE VULGARITIES,  
COARSENESSES, AND IMMORALITIES WHICH ARE TO ENTER  
INTO THE LIVES OF MEN AND FOR WHICH, ONE IS FORCED  
TO CONCLUDE, THE "OTHER" WOMEN ARE TO PROVIDE.

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212.7

26

What is the actual  
result of this ~~evil~~  
of morality. I will  
tell you. ~~Because~~  
I remain ~~poor~~  
as you will be  
shocked. It has  
caused ~~harm~~  
to the ~~community~~  
~~as a whole~~

THE POSITION OF A CELIBATE, A ~~PERSON~~.

OR A RECKLESS, INCESSANT BREEDER OF HAPLESS  
CHILDREN.

in the ~~community~~ who

FIRST, AS TO THE CELIBATE, THE FAHISHED

AND WITHERED HUMAN PLANT. WHEN STILL A YOUNG,

BEAUTIFUL FLOWER, SHE FALLS IN LOVE WITH A

RESPECTABLE YOUNG MAN. BUT MORALITY DECIDES

THAT UNLESS HE CAN AFFORD TO MARRY THE GIRL,

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29

21250

SHE MUST NEVER KNOW THE RAPTURES OF LOVE. (THE  
ECSTASY OF PASSION, WHICH REACHES ITS CUL-  
MINATING EXPRESSION IN THE SEX EMBRACE. (THE  
RESPECTABLE YOUNG MAN IS WILLING TO MARRY, BUT  
THE PROPER MORALITY, THE FAMILY AND SOCIAL  
MORALITIES DECREE THAT HE MUST FIRST MAKE HIS  
FILE. (MUST SAVE UP ENOUGH TO ESTABLISH A HOME  
AND BE ABLE TO PROVIDE FOR A FAMILY. (THE  
YOUNG PEOPLE MUST WAIT, OFTEN MANY LONG,  
FEARY YEARS.

MEANWHILE THE RESPECTABLE YOUNG MAN,

EMOTIONALLY ROUSED BY THE DAILY ASSOCIATION AND  
CONTACT WITH HIS SWEETHEART, SEEKS AN OUTLET

FOR HIS NATURE IN RETURN FOR MONEY. IN

at least 15

NINETY ~~ONE~~ CASES OUT OF A HUNDRED, HE WILL

BE INFECTED, (AND WHEN HE IS MATERIALLY ABLE

TO MARRY, HE WILL INFECT HIS WIFE AND ~~FOR~~

Business of

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*and the young flower* 302  
~~OFFSPRING.~~ AND THE YOUNG FLOWER, WITH EVERY  
~~FIBER AGLOW WITH THE FIRE OF LIFE.~~ WITH ALL  
~~HER BEING CRYING OUT FOR LOVE AND PASSION?~~ (SHE  
HAS NO OUTLET. SHE DEVELOPS HEADACHES,  
INSOMNIA, HYSTERIA; GROWS EMBITTERED,  
QUARRRELSOME, AND SOON BECOMES A FADED, WITHERED  
JOYLESS BEING, A ~~WILDLAND OF THROAT AND~~  
~~EVERYONE ELSE.~~ NO WONDER STIRNER PREFERRED  
THE GRISETTE TO THE MAIDEN GROWN GRAY WITH  
VIRTUE.

THERE IS NOTHING MORE PATHETIC, THAN THIS  
GRAY-GROWN VICTIM OF A GRAY-GROWN MORALITY.  
THIS APPLIES EVEN WITH GREATER FORCE TO THE  
MASSSES OF PROFESSIONAL MIDDLE-CLASS GIRLS, THAN  
TO THOSE OF THE PEOPLE. (( THROUGH ECONOMIC  
NECESSITY THE LATTER ARE THRUST INTO LIFE'S  
JUNGLE AT AN EARLY AGE; THEY GROW UP WITH

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THEIR MALE COMPANIONS IN THE FACTORY AND SHOP,

OR AT PLAY AND DANCE. THE RESULT IS A MORE

NORMAL EXPRESSION OF THEIR PHYSICAL INSTINCTS.

THEN, TOO, THE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN OF THE

PEOPLE ARE NOT SO HIDE-BOUND BY EXTERNALITIES,

AND OFTEN FOLLOW THE CALL OF LOVE AND PASSION

REGARDLESS OF CEREMONY AND TRADITION.

BUT THE OVERWROUGHT AND OVERSEXED MIDDLE-

CLASS GIRL, HEDGED IN HER NARROW CONFINES WITH

FAMILY AND SOCIAL TRADITIONS, GUARDED BY A

THOUSAND EYES, AFRAID OF HER OWN SHADOW --

THE YEARNING OF HER INMOST BEING FOR THE MAN

OR THE CHILD, MUST TURN TO CATS, DOG, CANARY

BIRDS, OR ~~OR OTHER CREATURES~~. SUCH IS THE

CRUEL DICTUM OF MORALITY, WHICH IS DAILY

SHUTTING OUT LOVE, LIGHT, AND JOY FROM THE

LIVES OF INNUMERABLE VICTIMS.



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MORALITY AND ITS VICTIM, THE ~~MOTHER~~--- *old leaf*

WHAT A ~~TERRIBLE~~ PICTURE! IS THERE INDEED

ANYTHING MORE TERRIBLE. MORE CRIMINAL. THAN

OUR GLORIFIED SACRED FUNCTION OF MOTHERHOOD?

THE WOMAN. PHYSICALLY AND ~~MENTALLY~~ UNFIT TO

661

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~~BE A MOTHER, YET CONDEMNED TO BREED; THE~~  
 WOMAN, ECONOMICALLY TAXED TO THE VERY LAST  
 SPARK OF ENERGY, YET FORCED TO BREED;  
 THE WOMAN, TIED TO A MAN SHE LOATHES, WHOSE  
 VERY SIGHT FILLS HER WITH HORROR, YET MADE  
 TO BREED; THE WOMAN, WORN AND USED UP FROM  
 THE PROCESS OF PROCREATION, YET COERCED TO  
 BREED, MORE EVER MORE. NO WONDER THOUSANDS  
 OF WOMEN RISK MUTILATION, AND PREFER EVEN  
 DEATH TO THIS CURSE OF THE CRUEL IMPOSITION  
 OF THE CHILD BEARING MORALITY.

WITH THE ECONOMIC WAR RAGING ALL AROUND  
 HER, WITH STRIFE, MISERY, CRIME, DISEASE,  
 AND INSANITY STARING HER IN THE FACE, WITH  
 NUMBERLESS LITTLE CHILDREN GROUND INTO GOLD  
 DUST, HOW CAN THE SELF AND RACE-CONSCIOUS  
 WOMAN BECOME A MOTHER?

*of many children?*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[On "Virtue for Women" by Isabel Leavenworth] / Emma Goldman.—  
20 p. ; 25 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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21262A

MORALITY CANNOT ANSWER THIS QUESTION.

IT CAN ONLY DICTATE, COERCE, OR CONDEMN --

AND HOW MANY WOMEN ARE STRONG ENOUGH TO FARE

THIS CONDEMNATION, TO DEFY THE MORAL DICTA?

FEW, INDEED. HENCE THEY FILL THE FACTORIES,

THE REFORMATORIES, THE HOMES FOR FEEBLE

MINDS, THE PRISONS, THE INSANE ASYLUMS,

OR THEY DIE IN THE ATTEMPT TO PREVENT CHILD-

BIRTH.

OH, MOTHERHOOD, WHAT CRIMES ARE COMMITTED

IN THY NAME! WHAT HOSTS ARE LAID AT YOUR

FEET, MORALITY, DESTROYER OF LIFE!

663

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THE PROSTITUTE. IN SPITE OF LAWS,  
ORDINANCES, PERSECUTION, AND PRISONS; (IN  
SPITE OF SEGREGATION, REGISTRATION, VICE  
CRUSADES, AND OTHER SIMILAR DEVICES, THE  
PROSTITUTE IS THE REAL SPECTER OF OUR AGE.  
SHE SWEEPS ACROSS THE PLAINS LIKE A FIRE BURN-  
ING INTO EVERY NOOK OF LIFE, DEVASTATING,  
DESTROYING.

AFTER ALL, SHE IS PAYING BACK, IN A VERY  
SMALL MEASURE, THE CURSE AND HORRORS SOCIETY  
HAS STREWN IN HER PATH. SHE, WEARY WITH THE  
TRAMP OF AGES, HARASSED AND DRIVEN FROM PILLAR  
TO POST, AT THE MERCY OF ALL, IS YET THE  
NEMESIS OF MODERN TIMES. THE AVENGING ANGEL,  
RUTHLESSLY WIELDING THE SWORD OF FIRE. FOR  
HAS SHE NOT THE MAN IN HER POWER? AND,  
THROUGH HIM, THE HOME, THE CHILD, THE RACE.

664

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870917042

[On "Virtue for Women" by Isabel Leavenworth] / Emma Goldman.—  
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THUS SHE SLAYS, AND IS HERSELF THE MOST

BRUTALLY SLAIN.

WHAT HAS MADE HER? WHENCE DOES SHE COME?

MORALITY, THE MORALITY WHICH IS MERCILESS IN

THE ATTITUDE TO WOMEN. ONCE SHE DARED TO BE

HERSELF, TO BE TRUE TO HER NATURE, TO LIFE,

THERE IS NO RETURN: (THE WOMAN IS THRUST

OUT FROM THE PALE AND PROTECTION OF SOCIETY.

(THE PROSTITUTE BECOMES THE VICTIM OF MORALITY,

EVEN AS THE WITHERED OLD MAID IS ITS VICTIM.

BUT THE PROSTITUTE IS VICTIMIZED BY STILL OTHER

FORCES, (FOREMOST AMONG THEM THE PROPERTY

MORALITY WHICH COMPELS WOMAN TO SELL HERSELF

AS A SEX COMMODITY FOR A DOLLAR PER, OUT

OF WEDLOCK, OR FOR a home ~~FIFTEEN DOLLARS A WEEK,~~

IN THE SACRED FOLD OF MATRIMONY. (THE LATTER

IS NO DOUBT SAFER, MORE RESPECTED, MORE

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RECOGNIZED, BUT OF ~~THE TWO FORMS OF PROSTITUTION~~

*Part of the 100*  
THE GIRL OF THE STREET IS THE LEAST HYPOCRITICAL.

THE LEAST ~~DEPRESSED~~ SINCE HER TRADE LACKS THE

PIOUS MASK OF ~~HYPOCRISY~~; AND YET SHE IS

HOUNDED, FLEECE, OUTRAGED, AND SHUNNED,

BY THE VERY POWERS THAT HAVE MADE HER:

THE FINANCIER, THE PRIEST, THE MORALIST,

THE JUDGE, THE JAILOR, AND THE DETECTIVE.

(NOT TO FORGET HER SHELTERED, RESPECTABLY

VIRTUOUS SISTER, WHO IS THE MOST RELENTLESS

AND BRUTAL IN HER PERSECUTION OF THE PROSTITUTE.

666

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38 1200

FORTUNATELY, THE DAWN IS EMERGING FROM  
THE CHAOS AND DARKNESS. WOMAN IS AWAKENING,  
SHE IS THROWING OFF THE NIGHTMARE OF MORALITY;  
SHE WILL NO LONGER BE BOUND.

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21267

IN HER LOVE FOR THE MAN SHE IS NOT CONCERNED

IN THE CONTENTS OF HIS POCKETBOOK, BUT IN THE

WEALTH OF HIS NATURE, WHICH ALONE IS THE

FOUNTAIN OF LIFE AND OF JOY.

MORALITY HAS NO TERRORS FOR HER WHO HAS

RISEN BEYOND GOOD AND EVIL. AND THOUGH

MORALITY MAY CONTINUE TO DEVOUR ITS VICTIMS,

IT IS UTTERLY POWERLESS IN THE FACE OF THE

MODERN SPIRIT, THAT SHINES IN ALL ITS GLORY

UPON THE BROW OF MAN AND WOMAN, LIBERATED

AND UNAFRAID.

THE VARIOUS MORAL SUPERVISORS OF OUR

THOUGHTS, FEELINGS, AND ACTION HAVE BEEN AND

ARE THE DEAD WEIGHT UPON THE ~~SPIRIT OF MAN.~~

THEY HAVE TURNED LIFE ITSELF INTO A

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21268

VALD OF TEARS AND LABOR INTO A STRAIGHT JACKET.

(THEY WILL NOT HAVE IT THAT THE HUMAN RACE IS  
ON THE EARTH FOR SOMETHING ELSE THAN SLAVING  
AND SWEATING.

HOWEVER, THE MORALISTS HAVE HAD THEIR DAY.

THEIR POWER IS BREAKING. THEIR EFFORTS TO  
CURTAIL PURISTS. *more future*

MORE AND MORE MEN AND WOMEN ARE ESCAPING  
FROM THE HOLD OF THESE PURISTS. (MORE AND  
MORE THEY ARE DENYING THE RIGHT OF THOSE WHO  
HAVE NEVER LIVED, NEVER LOVED, NEVER KNOWN THE  
SHEER JOY OF EXPRESSION TO DIRECT THE COURSE  
OF OTHERS.

DOES THAT MEAN THAT I DENY ETHICAL VALUES?

MOST ASSUREDLY NOT. (IN FACT, I HOLD THAT  
THE IDEAL I STRIVE FOR STANDS FOR THE HIGHEST

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ETHICAL VALUES. IF YOU DOBT IT READ

PETER KROPOTKIN'S "ANARCHIST MORALITY"

AND HIS "ETHICS."

THE MORALITY HE ADVOCATES AND I BELIEVE  
IN CANNOT BE IMPOSED BY EXTERNAL DOGMAS, LAWS  
OR PROSCRIPTION. IT CAN ONLY COME THROUGH  
THE HIGHEST EXPRESSION OF ONE'S INNER SELF  
IN HARMONIOUS FELLOWSHIP WITH OTHERS.

THE LEISURE THAT COMES FROM WELLBEING--

THE PROUD AOWAL OF LIFE AS JOY, AS ECSTASY

BEAUTY. IN OTHER WORDS MORALITY AS A

RELEASING NOT A BINDING FORCE, AS A LIBERATING  
AND NOT AS A CHAINING ELEMENT.

HUMANITY LIVING IN FREEDOM IN A FREE

SOCIETY. THAT IS THE ONLY MORALITY I

RECOGNIZE.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Sexuality, Motherhood, and Birth Control] / Emma Goldman. — [1935?, fragment]. — 108 p. ; 31 x 21 cm.

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HH

HH

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WHILE THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION  
HAS STOOD ASIDE, MORE THAN A FEW REPRESENTATIVE MEDICAL ORGANIZATIONS HAVE TAKEN FAVORABLE ACTION. IN 1925 THE AMERICAN GYNECOLOGICAL SOCIETY PASSED A RESOLUTION RECOMMENDING THAT THE FEDERAL LAW BE CHANGED SO AS TO PERMIT THE MAILING OF MEDICAL AND SCIENTIFIC JOURNALS AND PUBLICATIONS CONTAINING CONTRACEPTIVE INFORMATION. IN 1931 THE AMERICAN NEUROLOGICAL ASSOCIATION ADVOCATED A CHANGE IN THE PRESENT FEDERAL LAW SO AS TO PERMIT THE DISSEMINATION OF CONTRACEPTIVE KNOWLEDGE AND ADVICE BY PHYSICIANS, HOSPITALS, MEDICAL CLINICS, AND MEDICAL SCHOOLS.

A STILL LONGER STEP FORWARD WAS TAKEN BY THE CINCINNATI ACADEMY OF MEDICINE IN 1929 WHEN IT ESTABLISHED A CONTRACEPTIVE CLINIC UNDER ITS OWN AUSPICES AND THOSE OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE AND THE MUNICIPAL HOSPITAL.

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## THE ELEMENT OF SEX IN LIFE

TRUTH WILL OUT SOME DAY. BUT IN GENERAL

IT IS THE LIE THAT ENDURES FOR LONG. TRUTH

IS NAKED, STRAIGHTFORWARD. IT WILL HAVE NO

SMIRKING, SUBTERFUGE, OR COMPROMISE. LIES

ARE ADORNED IN SILKS AND JEWELS. IT IS

SMOOTH, INGRATIATING AND DECEPTIVE. THE MANY,

TOO MANY, ARE DAZZLED BY THE POMF AND SELF-

IMPORTANCE OF LIES AND FOLLOW THEM GLADLY

UNAWARE OF THE GRINNING FACE BETWEEN THE

FANCY MASK.

IT IS, THEREFORE, NOT SURPRISING THAT

THE MOST ELEMENTAL FORCE IN HUMAN LIFE ~~IS~~

SEX ~~AND THE~~ SHOULD STILL

BE DEGRADED AND DENIED.

THE TWO INSTITUTIONS THAT HAVE FOR CENTURIES

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TRIED TO SUBDUCE SEX, TO DRIVE IT OUT BY THE

MOST FIENDISH METHODS ~~AND THE~~ CHURCH AND

MORALITY -- THE TRADUCERS OF ALL THAT IS FINE

AND WHOLESOME IN LIFE. ( BUT THE MORE THE

CHURCH AND MORALITY ~~TRIED~~ TO SUBDUCE SEX, BURN

IT OUT FROM THE THOUGHTS AND NEEDS OF MAN. THE

MORE CONSUMING AND DEVASTATINGLY SEX ASSERTED

ITSELF. ( ~~DISPAIR AND MADNESS WERE THE RESULT~~

~~THUS, THE RELIGIOUS AND MORAL LIES REIGNED~~

~~FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS. ( FOR IT IS~~

COMPARATIVELY OF RECENT YEARS THAT THE TRUTH

ABOUT SEX HAS BROKEN THROUGH THE AGE-LONG

NETWORK OF DELUSION AND SNARE THAT HAVE SO LONG

HAUNTED THE HUMAN MIND. *man's mind*

*field* ~~THE GREAT SEX PSYCHOLOGISTS,~~

HAVELLOCK ELLIS, KRAFFT EBBING, EDWARD CARPENTER

AND FREUD ~~STOOD ALONE IN THEIR~~ HEROIC BATTLE

AGAINST THE LIES ABOUT SEX. *these men*

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[Sexuality, Motherhood, and Birth Control] / Emma Goldman. — [1935?, fragment]. — 108 p. ; 31 x 21 cm.

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*now these numbers are enormous*  
~~HAVE BE COULDED IN THOUSANDS~~ TODAY. AND ALL

*Make it* PROVE BEYOND A SHADOW OR A DOUBT THAT ~~and other mental horrors~~  
TERRORS, NEUROSIS HAVE THE SAME SEXUAL ORIGIN.

MORE THAN THIS, OUR WHOLE LIFE, OUR SIMPLEST  
*entirely*  
ACTIONS, ARE CRUSHINGLY DEPENDENT UPON OUR

SEXUAL IMPULSES. (THE DISSIMULATION IMPOSED

BY LONG MORAL RESTRAINT PREVENTED US FROM

RECOGNIZING THIS FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH. (BUT

SINCE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO RESIST SUCH A

POWERFUL NATURAL FORCE WITH IMPUNITY, WE

*people must people*  
WERE ALL BECOMING MORE OR LESS INSANE:

(SOME WERE COMPLETELY SO, (SOME EXPRESSED THEIR

SEXUAL ASPIRATIONS BY TRANSITORY PROBIAS OR

MONSTROUS DREAMS; OTHERS, IN ORDER TO FREE

THEMSELVES FROM THEM PASSED ALMOST THEIR WHOLE

EXISTENCE IN A WAKING DREAM, INDIFFERENT TO

ORDINARY LIFE. (FINALLY, THOSE WHO WERE

STRONGEST SATISFIED THEIR PROENSITELS BY

THE AID OF A CALCULATING HYPOCRISY WHICH

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ENABLED THEM TO CONCEAL THEM FROM THE EYE  
OF THE CROWD.

THE GROWING ACCUMULATION OF FREUDIAN  
RESEARCH, THE EVER-WIDENING CONSEQUENCES OF  
THE APPLICATION OF THE ORIGINAL DOCTRINES,  
SUPPLY EXPLANATIONS OF MANY PROBLEMS WHICH  
USED TO PUZZLE US, AND OFTEN ENABLE US TO  
FIND MATERIAL PROOF OF ~~THE~~ THEORY OF THE UNITY  
OF ENERGY: WE thus see THAT DREAM, SLEEP,  
NORMAL STATE OF CONSCIOUSNESS, AND PSYCHOSES  
FORM AN INTEGRAL PART OF HUMAN PERSONALITY,  
WHICH REACTS BY ONE OR OTHER OF THESE MANIFEST-  
TATIONS TO AN EXTERNAL INFLUENCE, ACCORDING TO  
THE ACTUAL PHASE IN THE EVOLUTION OF THIS  
FORCE. (WE NOTE THAT ALONG THESE FORCES ACTING  
UPON US, THE MOST IMPORTANT, IF NOT THE ONLY  
ONE, WHICH WE CAN ALMOST ALWAYS FIND UNDER THE  
MOST VARIED DISGUISES, IS THE SEX IMPULSE:

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- b -

21586

WE HAVE TO ADMIT THAT WE CANNOT DENY AN ACTUAL

FACT, EVEN IF WE DO NOT LIKE IT, AND IT IS

THEREFORE INDISPENSABLE TO RECOGNIZE THIS

MUCH-MALIGNED SEX IMPULSE AS THE GREAT

PSYCHOLOGICAL MOTIVE FORCE OF HUMANITY.

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*The late*

PROF. DORCEY IN "WHY WE BEHAVE LIKE

HUMAN BEINGS" POINTS OUT THAT PSYCHOLOGY HAS

DIAGNOSED THE "IMPURITY COMPLEX" AND SHOWN

US WHAT IS BACK OF THE BLATANT PRUDE WHO

ADVERTISES HIS OR HER "PURITY." (IT HAS

ALSO SHOWN THAT PURITY OF THE IGNORANT WHEN

PURCHASED AT A PRICE OF A STIFLED NATURAL

CURIOSITY IS NOT SAFE AND SANE. (PROF. DORCEY

~~GOES~~ ON TO SAY THAT, (ON THE OTHER HAND THE

STUDY OF BIOLOGY HAS BEGUN TO BREAK DOWN

THIS IMPURITY COMPLEX AND THE UNHOLY,

UNNATURAL DOCTRINE BEGUN BY EARLY CHRISTIAN

MONKS THAT THE SEX IMPULSE IS MAN'S SIGN OF

DEGRADATION AND THE SOURCE OF HIS MOST DEVILISH

ENERGY. NATURE KNOWS BETTER.

*and he says it's too much  
sex is a primary biologic function of all*

LIFE ABOVE THE LOWEST. (ITS CHARACTERS AND

QUALITIES HAVE AN ANCIENT LINEAGE. (ITS

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THING WE CALL HUMAN CULTURE THE AMAZING AND

VARIEGATED MOSAIC THAT IT IS.

( WE ARE MORE ENLIGHTENED THAN WE WERE,

BUT WE HAVE NOT YET REACHED THE STAGE WHERE THE

MERE MENTION OF SEX WILL NOT PROVOKE SOME ONE

TO RESPOND WITH A REPROACH OR AN INSULT.

WHOLE

BLOCKS ON MAIN STREET ASSUME THAT "SEX KNOWLEDGE"

IS OF QUESTIONABLE PROPRIETY, OR, AT BEST, TO

BE KEPT DARK IN "DOCTOR-BOOKS;" OR REGARD IT

AS THE BANAL POSSESSION OF THE FRANKLY SHAMELESS.

( AS A RESULT, MOST PSEUDO-SCIENTIFIC "SEX"

LITERATURE SLOPS OVER INTO THE EMOTIONS AND LETS

FACTS ALONE, OR PRESENTS FACTS UNDER DISGUISES.

( MUCH OF IT HAS NO BIOLOGIC BACKGROUND OR ANY-

THING OF THE LAWS OF LIFE WHICH GOVERN MAN NO

LESS THAN EVERY LIVING THING. ( IT IS FEAR

(SOMETIMES CALLED "REVERANCE") THAT MAKES US

"LET SEX ALONE."

( IT IS MOCK MODESTY AND

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FOOLISH SHAME, MASQUERADING UNDER THE NAME

"DECENCY," THAT COMPELS MUSEUMS TO CLUTHE

MARBLE FAUNS AND PLASTER JOVES AND BRONZE

CUPIDS WITH PLASTER-OF-PARIS FIG LEAVES, OFTEN

AWRY OR NICKED AT THE CORNER.

*Must not forget  
the question of the  
man is "high," "animals" are "low" -*

WITHOUT MINDS AND OF COURSE CAN HAVE NO "SOULS."

WE HAVE. OURS IS A "DIVINE" PARENTAGE.

OUR SOCIETY "SACRED." HENCE ART, FROM

PHIDIAN SCULPTURE TO SOPHOCRIC POEM, TENDS

TO THE GREATER GLORY OF MAN: (MEN AND WOMEN

MORE LIKE GODS AND GODDESSES; GODS AND

GODESSES GLORIFIED MEN AND WOMEN.

AND SO IT CAME ABOUT THAT THE COMMONEST

THING IN NATURE NEXT TO KEEPING ALIVE BECAME

INVESTED WITH THE SANCTITY OF HEAVEN. LOVE

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## THE SENTIMENTAL LIFE OF THE ADULT.

PSYCHOLOGISTS ASK US TO NOTE:

THAT THE SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHILD MAY

TAKE PLACE IN THREE WAYS:

(1) APPEARANCE OF THE FIRST PHENOMENA AT  
THE VERY TIME OF BIRTH;

(2) CRISIS IN LATER INFANCY, FROM FOUR TO  
SEVEN YEARS OLD, WITH INVERSION OF NORMAL  
SENTIMENTS, INCEST, ETC;

(3) CRISIS OF PUBERTY, FROM ABOUT TEN  
TO FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE, FOLLOWED BY A RETURN  
OF THE SENSATIONS TO NORMAL CHANNELS.

THESE PSYCHOLOGICAL MANIFESTATIONS ARE,  
NO DOUBT, CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH MODIFICATIONS  
OF THE INTERNAL SECRETION ORGANS, AND, IN

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21592

~~PREVIOUSLY~~ OR AS HAS BEEN SO ABLY

DESCRIBED IN THE WORK OF JAMES FISHER

"LOVE AND MORALITY" "THE SEX URGE OFTEN

BURSTS LIKE A THUNDER-CLAP INTO THE MOST

RESPECTABLY ORDERED LIVES, WHICH WOULD SEEM

AT FIRST SIGHT TO BE THE MOST IMMUNE.

UNDER THE INFLUENCE SOMETIMES OF A DIS-

TINGUISHABLE PHYSIOLOGICAL CAUSE (INFLUENCE

OF THE MENOPAUSE, OR OF AN ALTERATION IN THE

SECRECTIONS OF AN ORGAN HARDENED BY AGE), AND

SOMETIMES OF ONE WHICH IS SCARCELY APPARENT,

~~as called~~ THE MORAL RULES WHICH MAY HAVE GOVERNED A

WHOLE SEXUAL LIFE VANISH OR UNDERGO A VIOLENT

REVOLUTION.

UNFORTUNATELY VERY FEW DO UNDERSTAND IT.

THEY HAVE NOT BEEN PERMITTED TO SEE BEYOND THE

COMMISSION OF ANY ACT. ( THEY DO NOT TAKE THE

TROUBLE TO FIND OUT THE MOTIVES THAT DRIVE

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MAX STIRNER - "THE EGO AND HIS OW.

GIVES A WONDERFUL PICTURE OF THE SEXUALLY  
STARVED.

WHERE COULD ONE LOOK WITHOUT MEETING

VICTIMS OF SELF-RENUNCIATION? THERE SITS

A GIRL OPPOSITE ME, WHO PERHAPS HAS BEEN

MAKING BLOODY SACRIFICES TO HER SOUL FOR TEN

YEARS ALREADY. OVER THE BUXOM FORM DROOPS

A DEATHLY-TIRED HEAD, AND PALE CHEEKS BETRAY

THE SLOW BLEEDING AWAY OF HER YOUTH. POOR

CHILD, HOW OFTEN THE PASSIONS MAY HAVE BEATEN

AT YOUR HEART, AND THE RICH POWERS OF YOUTH

HAVE DEMANDED THEIR RIGHT? WHEN YOUR HEAD

ROLLED IN THE SOFT PILLOW, HOW AWAKENING

NATURE QUIVERED THROUGH YOUR LIMBS, THE BLOOD

SWELLED YOUR VEINS AND FIERY FANCIES POURED

T.

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THE OCEAN OF VOLUPTUOUSNESS INTO YOUR EYES!

THEN APPEARED THE GHOSTS OF THE SOUL AND ITS  
EXTERNAL BLISS. YOU WERE TERRIFIED,

YOUR HANDS FOLDED THEMSELVES, YOUR TORMENTED

EYES TURNED ITS LOOK UPWARD, YOU - PRAYED.

THE STORMS OF NATURE WERE HUSHED, (A CALM

GLIDED OVER THE OCEAN OF YOUR APPETITES.

SLOWLY THE WEARY EYE-LIDS SANK OVER THE LIFE

EXTINGUISHED UNDER THEM, THE TENSION CREPT

OUT UNPERCEIVED FROM THE ROUNDED LIMBS, THE

BOISTEROUS WAVES DRIED UP IN THE HEART, THE

FOLDED HANDS THEMSELVES RESTED A POWERLESS

WEIGHT ON THE UNRESISTING BOSOM, ONE LAST

PAINT "OH DEAR!" MOANED ITSELF AWAY, AND -

THE SOUL WAS AT REST. YOU FELL ASLEEP,

TO AWAKE IN THE MORNING TO A NEW COMBAT AND

A NEW - PRAYER. NOW THE HABIT OF RENUN-

CATION COOLS THE HEAT OF YOUR DESIRE, AND

THE ROSES OF YOUR YOUTH ARE GROWING PALE IN

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28 34-40<sup>1595</sup>

MR. V. F. CALVERTON IN HIS BOOK ON

"SEX EXPRESSION IN LITERATURE" SHOWS

"THAT BY FAR THE BEST METHOD OF COMBATING THE

ANCIENT AND POPULAR MYTHOLOGY THAT OUR SEX

ATTITUDES AND INSTITUTIONS WERE ORIGINALLY

REVEALED TO MAN BY GOD, (AND HAVE REMAINED

FIXED, CHANGELESS AND ETERNAL, IS TO EXECUTE

A REALISTIC STUDY IN HISTORY OF THE SEX

MORALITY IN ANY GIVEN CULTURAL ERA."

He also says

(..SURVIVALS OF SEX WORSHIP WERE COMMON

UNTIL THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY WHEN

THE ANCIENT DIONYSOS PHALLIC PROCESSION WAS

CONTINUED IN ECSTATIC GALA FASHION IN MANY

PROVINCES OF ITALY. (IN FACT, TO QUOTE THE

WORDS OF F. F. LAWRENCE, "WHEN THE ANCIENT CITY

OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES, ISERNIA, WAS DESTROYED

BY AN EARTHQUAKE IN 1805, THE PIOUS LOOKED UPON

THE CALAMITY AS RETRIBUTION FOR THE PAGAN CON-

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21596

VENTION SO UNSCRUPULOUSLY MAINTAINED THERE

AT THE ANNUAL PERIOD OF THE BACCHIC FESTIVAL."

(...AFTER THEIR CONVERSION TO A COMPROMISED

CHRISTIANITY THE GERMANIC RACES CONTINUED TO

HAVE PHALLIC DEMONS OF VEGETATION. JUST AS

IN ANCIENT TIMES THE WOMEN OF ISRAEL MADE

PHALLI OF GOLD AND SILVER AS CHARMS AGAINST

BARRENNESS, SO ALSO WERE PHALLIC CAKES EATEN

ALL THROUGH THE DARK CENTURIES WITH THE SAME

PURPOSE IN VIEW. THE EATING OF FISH ON

FRIDAY IS BUT A VESTIGE OF THIS OLD CUSTOM,

JUST AS THE CARRYING OF THE PALM ON PALM SUNDAY

IS BUT A VESTIGE OF AN OLD SEX SYMBOL.

BOTH THE JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN RELIGION

HAVE IMPOSED THE NOTION OF THE FUNCTION OF SEX

AS ONLY PERMISSABLE FOR THE ACT OF PROCREATION.

THAT THEY MAY BE FRUITFUL, MULTIPLY, AND

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REPLENISH THE EARTH JEHOVAH PERMITTED THE JEWS

TO HAVE MANY WIVES. (THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

WHILE NOT PERMITTING MANY WIVES AND IMPOSING

SEXUAL GRATIFICATION ONLY TO BRING CHILDREN

INTO THE WORLD IS YET PERFECTLY AWARE OF THE

FACT THAT WHETHER INSIDE OR OUT OF MARRIAGE SEX

IS BEING EXPRESSED WITHOUT MUCH REGARD TO

PROCREATION. (BUT WHILE RELIGIONISTS AND

PURISTS CLING TO THEIR FETISH THAT SEX MUST NOT

BE "INDULGED" IN AS THEY TERM THE PERFECTLY

NATURAL EXPRESSION MODERN BIOLOGISTS AND

PSYCHOLOGISTS HAVE TORN THE VEIL FROM ALL THE

NONSENSE PERTAINING TO SEX. (WHOLE LIBRARIES

HAVE BEEN FILLED WITH WORKS THAT TREAT THE

SUBJECT WITH UNDERSTANDING AND DEPTH AND SHOW

THAT THERE HAS BEEN AN INADEQUATE REALIZATION

OF THE TREMENDOUS ENERGY BACK OF THE SEX INSTINCT

ON THE ONE HAND, AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, OF

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THE BIOLOGICAL PROVISIONS FOR THE RELEASE OF  
THIS ENERGY ALONG CHANNELS NOT SPECIFICALLY  
SEXUAL. IT IS PROBABLY ABSOLUTELY CORRECT  
TO SPEAK OF THE SEX INSTINCT AS THE CREATIVE  
INSTINCT, AND IT IS EQUALLY TRUE THAT ANY  
OUTLET WHICH OFFERS THE EMOTIONAL SATISFACTION  
THAT COMES FROM CREATIVE ENDEAVOR HAS THE  
CAPABILITY OF NEUTRALIZING THE NEEDS BACK OF  
THE SEXUAL CRAVING.

*strongly mental work*

THE IMPORT OF THIS VIEWPOINT MUST BE  
FULLY REALIZED BY PARENTS AND BY THEIR CHILDREN,  
FOR THE CHILDREN REFLECT THEM NOT MERELY  
THROUGH INHERITANCE, BUT ALSO BY THE ASSIMI-  
LATING OF THEIR IDEAS AND IDEALS. BOTH MUST  
UNDERSTAND AND LEARN TO UTILIZE THE ESSENTIALS  
FOR DEVELOPING AND SATISFYING THE EMOTIONAL  
CRAVINGS ARISING FROM THE SEX INSTINCT. IT  
IS IN THIS RELATION THAT THE RELEASE OF ENERGY

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ALONG RECREATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL LINES

YIELDS THE MOST SATISFACTORY RESULTS.

*unreel*

THE CREATIVE SPIRIT IS NOT AN ANTIDOTE  
TO THE SEX INSTINCT, BUT A PART OF ITS FORCE-  
FUL EXPRESSION. (IT ACTS IN A CONSERVATIVE  
MANNER AND UTILIZES THE INSTINCT FOR FORMS  
OF SATISFACTION THAT ARE NOT MERELY PROTECTIVE  
IN CHARACTER, BUT LEAD ON TO ITS GREATER  
DEVELOPMENT, ITS BROADENING AND DEEPENING IN  
ITS IMPRESS UPON INNATE CHARACTER AND POWERS  
OF SELF-DIRECTION AND CONTROL. THE NON-  
SEXUAL RELEASE OF ENERGY SOMETIMES SUFFICES  
TO OFFSET THE FUNDAMENTAL NEEDS THAT LIE BACK  
OF THE SEXUAL CRAVING AND, IN FACT, TO TRANS-  
MUTE THEM INTO SELF-SATISFYING AND USEFUL FORMS  
OF EXPRESSION.

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21600

THE MAN WHO EXPRESSED THIS THOUGHT PRO-

FOUNDLY AND POETICALLY WAS FRIEDRICH NIETZCHE.

IN "MORALITY AS ANTI-NATURALNESS" HE WRITES:

(ALL PASSIONS HAVE A TIME WHEN THEY ARE  
FATAL ONLY, WHEN, WITH THE WEIGHT OF THEIR  
POLLY, THEY DRAG THEIR VICTIM DOWN; AND THEY  
HAVE A LATER, VERY MUCH LATER PERIOD, WHEN THEY  
WED WITH SPIRIT, WHEN THEY ARE "SPIRITUALIZED."  
FORMERLY, PEOPLE WAGED WAR AGAINST PASSION  
ITSELF, ON ACCOUNT OF THE POLLY INVOLVED IN IT,  
THEY CONSPIRED FOR ITS ANNIHILATION. (THE  
MOST NOTABLE FORMULA FOR THAT VIEW STANDS IN  
THE NEW TESTAMENT, IN THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT,  
WHERE, LET US SAY IN PASSING, THINGS ARE NOT  
AT ALL REGARDED FROM AN ELEVATED POINT OF VIEW.  
FOR EXAMPLE, (IT IS THERE SAID WITH APPLICATION  
TO SEXUALITY, "IF THINE EYE OFFEND THEE, PLUCK  
IT OUT." (FORTUNATELY NO CHRISTIAN ACTS

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ACCORDING TO THIS PRECEPT. TO ANNIHILATE  
PASSIONS AND DESIRES MERELY IN ORDER TO OBVIATE  
THEIR FOLLY AND ITS UNPLEASANT RESULTS APPEARS  
TO US AT PRESENT SIMPLY AS AN ACUTE FORM OF  
FOLLY. (THE CHURCH FIGHTS AGAINST PASSION  
WITH EXCISION IN EVERY SENSE, ITS PRACTICE,  
ITS "CURE", ITS CASTRATIONS. IT NEVER ASKS,  
"HOW TO SPIRITUALIZE, BEAUTIFY, AND DEIFY A  
DESIRE?" -- IT HAS, AT ALL TIMES, LAID THE  
EMPHASIS OF DISCIPLINE UPON EXTERMINATION  
(OF SENSUALITY, OF PRIDE, AND AMBITION). --  
BUT TO ATTACK THE PASSIONS AT THE ROOT MEANS  
TO ATTACK LIFE ITSELF AT THE ROOT: THE PRAXIS  
OF THE CHURCH IS INIMICAL TO LIFE.....

THIS TRUISM IS ALREADY RECOGNIZED BY THE  
THINKING. BUT ONE PHASE HAS REMAINED,  
NAMELY, THAT SEX THOUGH A POTENT FACTOR MUST  
YET BE HELD IN LEASH BY THE UNMARRIED .

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FORTUNATELY THIS PREJUDICE TOO IS BEING

DEMOLISHED. A RECENT SYMPOSIUM ON "THE

ELEMENT OF SEX IN THE LIFE OF THE UNMARRIED

ADULT" (GIVES CLEAR AND ASTOUNDING FACTS ON

THIS SUBJECT. TO QUOTE ONLY A FEW GIVEN BY

DR. IRA WILE IN HIS CONTRIBUTION:

THE UNMARRIED POSSESS THE POTENTIALS OF

THE MARRIED GROUP TO WHICH THEY ARE DEFINITELY

RELATED BY INTEREST AND PARTICIPATION IN ALL

THE PHASES OF LIFE THAT AFFECT THE WELL-BEING

OF THE MARRIED GROUP. THEIR SEX LIFE, IN

ITS VARIOUS FORMS, IS VITAL TO SOCIAL WELFARE,

JUST AS IT IS SIGNIFICANT FOR THEIR OWN PERSONAL

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

ADMITTEDLY, TO STUDY THIS PHASE OF SEX

IS TO EXPLORE ONE OF THE UNCHARTED AREAS OF

OUR CIVILIZATION IN WHICH THE RESIDUA OF

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21603

BARBARIC IGNORANCE AND FEAR STILL RETARD

PROGRESS. OVER ITS DEPTHS APPEARS AN

UNINVITING, MIASMATIC HAZE OF DOUBT AND UN-

CERTAINTY. FEW ORGANIZED EXPLORATIONS HAVE

BEEN MADE OF THIS STATE OF UNMARRIAGE. HENCE

THIS EFFORT TO MAKE A SURVEY OF THE FIELD FROM

VARIOUS ANGLES REPRESENTS AN EFFORT TO CHART

FACTS, (TO TRACE CASUAL INFLUENCES, TO DETERMINE

THE VALIDITY AND WORTH OF CURRENT VIEWS, AND

TO ESTABLISH DATA AND HYPOTHESES WHICH MAY BE

OF SERVICE IN INTERPRETING OUR AGE.

( FOR MORE THAN TWO THOUSAND YEARS THE

OFFICIAL GRATIFICATION OF PROCREATIVE URGES

HAS BEEN RELEGATED TO THE SOCIALLY RECOGNIZED

STATE OF MARRIAGE. ( THE ASSUMPTION OF SOCIETY

HAS BEEN THAT ITS AUTHORITATIVE PROHIBITION OF

THE BIOLOGIC MATING URGE WOULD POSTPONE ITS

UTILIZATION UNTIL SUCH A TIME AS THE REQUISITE

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CIVIL OR RELIGIOUS RITE GAVE SANCTION TO ITS

USAGE. IF SOCIETY EXPECTED EXTERNAL REGULA-

TIONS TO SUBJUGATE PHYSIOLOGIC URGES AND

PSYCHOLOGIC IMPULSES, HAVE THESE REGULATIONS

BEEN EFFECTIVE? DO THOSE LIVING IN UNMARRIAGE

LIVE IN CHASTITY AND CELIBACY? IF NOT, WHERE-

IN AND HOW DO THEIR SEXUAL BEHAVIORS DIFFER

FROM THOSE EXHIBITED BY FELLOW BEINGS SIMILAR

IN ALL ELSE EXCEPT FOR LIVING IN MARRIAGE?

SEXUAL ACTIVITY IS NOT AN ISOLATED ACT -

IT IS A GENERAL EXPERIENCE MOTIVATING AND

AFFECTING PERSONALITY. OUT OF THE TOTAL

PERSONAL REACTION EMERGES IDEAS OF ROMANCE AND

BEAUTY, EXALTATION AND PEACEFULNESS, DEVOTION

AND SLAVISH IDEALIZATION; OR, A SENSE OF

SACRIFICE, TUMULT, HUMILIATION, SHAME, ANXIETY,

A DESIRE FOR SELF-PUNISHMENT, OR A SELF-ACCEPTED

WEAKNESS, FAILURE AND INADEQUACY. THE CON-

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CEPT OF "FALLING IN LOVE" MAY APPLY TO SELF,  
TO MEMBERS OF ONE'S OWN OR THE OPPOSITE SEX.  
THERE IS USUALLY A SECOND PERSONALITY THAT  
FACILITATES ONE'S OWN GROWTH IN TERMS OF SEX  
IMPULSES UTILIZED FOR PERSONAL LIFE. THIS  
IS TRUE FOR THE UNMARRIED NO LESS THAN FOR THE  
MARRIED, ALTHOUGH SOCIETY MAKES THE ADJUSTMENT  
A CHALLENGE, A PROPRIETY, A QUESTION.

X HAVELOCK ELLIS, REFERRING TO THE PLAY  
FUNCTIONS OF SEX, REMARKS, "THE FUNCTIONS OF  
SEX ON THE PSYCHIC AND EMOTIONAL SIDE ARE OF  
FAR GREATER EXTENSION THAN ANY ACT OF PROCREATION,  
THEY MAY EVEN EXCLUDE IT ALTOGETHER, AND WHEN  
WE ARE CONCERNED WITH THE WELFARE OF THE  
INDIVIDUAL HUMAN BEING WE MUST ENLARGE OUR OUT-  
LOOK AND DEEPEN OUR INSIGHT."

TO INTERPRET THE SEX LIFE OF THE UNMARRIED

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ONE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THERE ARE TWO FUNCTIONS  
OF SEX:

ONE, THE BIOLOGIC, WITH PROCREATION AS A GOAL -  
INVOLVING SOME INTELLECTUAL BUT MORE EMOTIONAL  
PROCESSES IN THE INTEREST OF RACE PERPETUATION.

THE OTHER FUNCTION CONSISTS OF THE PROMOTION  
OF SOCIAL GROWTH THROUGH HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS.

THIS INVOLVES THE PLAY FUNCTION AND EROTIC  
ACTIVITY, WITH OR WITHOUT A PROCREATIVE GOAL.

THERE ARE TWO BASES FOR THE ENERGY OF THE  
SEXUAL DRIVE - ONE, CONSCIOUS, DIRECTED, GUIDED,  
SUBJECTED TO ETHICAL CONTROLS; THE OTHER,  
UNCONSCIOUS, INSTINCTUAL, IMPULSIVE, REACTING  
TO STIMULI, BUT NOT SUBJECT TO REASON.

TWO SOCIAL VALUES ARE OBVIOUS IN SEX  
PRACTICES -- ONE IS THE CREATION OF A SOCIAL  
ECONOMIC UNITY IN SOME FAMILY STRUCTURE;

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21607

NEITHER AN IMPOSSIBLE THEORY NOR A SHOWY  
ACCEPTANCE OF A SOCIAL VENEER CAN DISGUISE THE  
SUBSTANCE OF NATIVE PATTERNS OF ACTION. OUR  
AGE IS ONE OF REALISM, DERIVED IN REVOLT AGAINST  
ROMANTIC, IDEALISTIC ILLUSIONS OF A PAST  
GENERATION. THE EXALTATION OF CHASTITY AND  
CELIBACY AS GOALS OF LIFE HAS ~~DISAPPEARED~~.

NUMEROUS STUDIES HAVE DISCLOSED THAT THE  
UNMARRIED LIKE THE MARRIED, HAVE VARIED SEX  
EXPERIENCES. KLATT FOUND THAT 18 PER CENT  
OF WOMEN HAD SOME ACTIVE FORM OF EXPERIENCE  
UNDER 18 YEARS, AND 60.6 PER CENT BETWEEN 18  
AND 22 YEARS. AMONG HAMILTON'S SELECTED  
PROFESSIONAL GROUP, 59 PER CENT OF THE MEN AND  
47 PER CENT OF THE WOMEN HAD HAD COITUS BEFORE  
MARRIAGE, AND 20 PER CENT OF THE MALES AND 16  
PER CENT OF THE FEMALES, BEFORE 21 YEARS OF AGE.

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IS IMPORTANT THOUGH IT DOES NOT ALWAYS INVOLVE  
 REMAINING SINGLE. ( THE SINGLE GROUP REGRETTED  
 THE LACK OF CHILDREN MORE THAN THE LACK OF  
 HUSBANDS. APPROXIMATELY 38.7 PER CENT  
 BELIEVED INTERCOURSE NECESSARY FOR COMPLETE  
 MENTAL AND PHYSICAL HEALTH. APPROXIMATELY  
 20 PER CENT JUSTIFIED SEXUAL INTERCOURSE  
 BEFORE MARRIAGE FOR MEN AND FOR WOMEN.  
 THIS REFLECTS AN ATTITUDE THAT HAS BECOME  
 MORE PREVALENT DURING THE PAST DECADE.

84 *What about*  
 ARE THE LARGE NUMBERS OF ADULT SINGLE  
 UNDERGRADUATES AND GRADUATES OF COLLEGES ENDOWED  
 WITH LESS SEXUAL DRIVE THAN HIGH SCHOOL  
 GRADUATES? ( DO MATURED ADOLESCENTS LOSE  
 THEIR PRIMARY INSTINCTIVE URGES WHEN THEY  
 BECOME ADULT? ( IS HIGHER EDUCATION PURCHASED  
 AT THE COST OF SEXUAL CONTRACTION? ( THIS IS  
 ABSURD AND CONTRARY TO ALL FACTS. ( SEXUAL

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ACTIVITY IN ONE OF ITS MANY PHASES EXISTS -

WHETHER IN ACTIVE EROTIC PLAY, AUTO-EROTIC,  
HOMOSEXUAL OR HETEROSEXUAL PRACTICE, OR AS  
AN ESTHETIC OR VOCATIONAL SUBLIMATION.

ITS NATURE AND INTENSITY ARE SUBJECT TO  
PERSONAL CHOICE, JUDGMENT, STANDARDS, AND  
IDEALS WHICH ARE REGULATIVE BUT NOT DESTRUCTIVE -  
TEMPORARILY PROHIBITIVE RATHER THAN  
PERMANENTLY INHIBITIVE.

IF ONE ASSUMES THAT SEXUAL LIFE IS AND  
MUST BE LIMITED BY SOCIAL SANCTION TO THOSE  
LIVING IN WEDLOCK, THEN WHAT DO THOSE LIVING  
IN UNMARRIAGE DO OR WHAT MAY THEY DO? THE  
QUESTION IS NOT WHAT CAN THEY DO, AS THIS IS  
IDENTICAL FOR BOTH GROUPS. THE ACTUAL LEGAL  
EXISTENCE OF PRENUPTIAL GUARANTEES ATTESTS  
THE FACT OF WIDESPREAD SEXUAL ACTIVITY AMONG  
THE UNMARRIED.

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ECONOMIC INADEQUACY DOES NOT STAMP OUT  
HETEROSEXUAL URGES ANY MORE THAN THE ENACTMENT  
OF A PUNITIVE LAW CAN DESTROY HOMOSEXUAL  
IMPULSES. FACTUALLY, SOCIETY RECOGNIZES THE  
SEXUAL DEMANDS, IF NOT THE SEXUAL NEEDS, OF  
THE UNMARRIED GROUP IN ITS ATTITUDES TOWARD,  
AND ITS REGULATION OF, PROSTITUTION, HOMO-  
SEXUAL HAUNTS AND TAXI DANCE HALLS.

IN OTHER WORDS THE UNMARRIED ARE EITHER  
DRIVEN TO ARTIFICIAL METHODS OF SEX EXPRESSION  
OR THEY WILL FOLLOW THE DOMINANT URGE IN  
NATURAL RELATIONSHIPS. IN POINT OF FACT OF  
FACT THEY HAVE DONE WITH TABOOS IMPOSED ON  
THEM FOR SO LONG. ESPECIALLY SINCE THEY  
HAVE COME TO KNOW OF CONTRACEPTS TO PREVENT  
BRINGING UNDESIREED CHILDREN INTO THIS  
WONDERFUL WORLD OF OURS. ABOVE THIS VITAL  
SUBJECT I HOPE TO SPEAK BEFORE I LEAVE YOUR

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21612

CITY.

46

UNMARRIED ADULTS ARE APPROACHING SEX AS  
A FACT RATHER THAN A THEORY. THEY ARE  
ACCEPTING THEIR SEXUAL ORGANIZATION FRANKLY  
AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR PERSONAL GROWTH AND  
EMOTIONAL CONNECTION WITH SOCIAL STABILIZATION,  
RATHER THAN HYPOCRATICALLY AS A FUNCTION  
DESIGNED BY DIVINE PLAN ONLY FOR THE PROCREATION  
OF PURE BRINGS WHOSE EXCUSE FOR LIVING WAS  
THAT THEY MIGHT DIE IN PURITY TO ATTAIN  
HAPPINESS IN A WORLD TO COME.

THEY APPRECIATE THAT SEX IS THE SOURCE OF  
LIFE, BUT BELIEVE THAT A SEXLESS LIFE IS A  
MOCKERY AFTER BIOLOGIC MATURATION, BECAUSE IT  
IS CONTRARY TO NATURE.

THE SOCIAL TALES OF SEX THINGS IN THE

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PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS THAT SOCIALIZE INDIVIDUALS AND LEAD THEM TO FORSAKE UNMARRIAGE FOR A MARRIAGE IN HARMONY WITH THE LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF THEIR AGE.

ALL EROTIC PLAY IS GENETICALLY RELATED TO COURTSHIP, BUT COURTSHIP IS SUBJECT TO SOCIAL CONTROL. HENCE, THE SEX LIFE OF THE NORMAL YOUNG UNMARRIED ADULT, WHATEVER IT MAY BE, IS PREPARATION FOR THE PERFECTION OF MATING AND THE PROMOTION OF PERSONAL HAPPINESS AND ADJUSTMENT IN SOME FORM OF MARRIAGE, WHETHER FREE AND UNCONVENTIONAL COMMON-LAW OR ACCORDING TO CIVIL OR RELIGIOUS RITE.

BECAUSE I SO COMPLETELY AGREE WITH THIS POINT OF VIEW AND BECAUSE I KNOW THE DISASTROUS RESULT OF THE OLD IDEA OF SEX I FIND IT IMPERATIVE TO CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO THE NEED

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50  
OF TREATING THE SEX QUESTION FRANKLY AND WITH-

OUT THE SUBTERFUGE USUALLY EMPLOYED WHEN

*the subject*  
REFERRING TO SEX. WITH THE GREATEST AND

*am,*  
FINEST SPIRITS AND POET WALT WHITMAN I SAY,

"WHERE SEX IS MISSING EVERYTHING IS MISSING."

LET US GET RID OF THE MOOK MODESTY SO

PREVALENT ON THE SURFACE OF POLITE SOCIETY,

LET US LIBERATE SEX FROM FALSEHOOD AND

DEGRADATION AND LET US REALIZE THAT SEX IS A

DOMINANT FACTOR FOR GOOD IN LIFE.

*heavily & rudimentary  
in place and in  
art*

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Because I so completely  
agree with this new point  
and because I know  
the disastrous, a very  
tragic result of the  
Puritan idea of sex  
I find it imperative  
to call your attention  
to the need

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[illegible]

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21617

7 28

an open book she completely  
withdraws herself from  
him. The man ~~is~~ is full  
loaded, passionate inter-  
ests much ~~about~~ <sup>leading</sup> ~~about~~ <sup>lead</sup>  
him out to energy & then  
turns back to him in  
disgust, saying nothing  
of him until, who drives  
him to suicide.

We have a similar  
~~example~~ <sup>situation</sup> at the end of  
sex & suppression in  
the play "Cain" The  
missionary who, we  
had a judge like Rev  
Alfred Davidson is a

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# 24

danat cal nurse. When  
 father: Thompson came  
 to the island the Bill  
 as arrived at sea immediately  
 the local friends to and  
 den, recommended so should  
 not leave. The  
 young man. The  
 do doctors. The  
 the deposit for the  
 equal to the  
 started as a  
 see American in  
 t. The doctor in the  
 at 1000  
 T. Mann. The  
 a group. The  
 was of. The  
 called letter. The work

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# 24

Sanatocal nurse. When  
Dadie Thompson came  
to the island the Rev  
is arrived at the immoral  
the school intended to have  
been remained so she should  
not continue to be  
young man as he was  
to succeed in the matter with  
the spirit of the teacher  
good in the end he  
started to succeed  
see Alex. Camels, Jim  
H. Thompson as name  
at cards.

T. Mann, head of the school  
a couple of years ago. He was  
was his friend in New York  
"Scarlet Letter". The work

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5 25

is indeed an American  
error of Puritanism.  
But if anyone then  
that the attitude to the  
modern spirit Hygiene  
has changed, we will  
be mistaken.  
It is still one of the  
greatest of tasks which  
have appeared from the  
eyes of man. It is  
which humanity has passed  
into a most disastrous  
state, a neglect of such order  
and order, and the  
individual and the  
race and we allowed  
to remain a talent.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

880710011

[Sexuality, Motherhood, and Birth Control] / Emma Goldman. — [1935?, fragment]. — 108 p. ; 31 x 21 cm.

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*Nov 18 21*

SOME PSYCHOLOGISTS WHILE STRESSING THE  
DOMINANT FORCE OF SEX IN ALL LIVING CREATURES -  
WHETHER MAN, BEAST OR PLANT - WILL HAVE IT  
THAT SEX IS STRONGER IN THE MALE THAN IN THE  
FEMALE. ( THEY ALSO PERSIST IN ASSIGNING TO  
SEX ONLY ONE MOTIVATION - THAT OF REPRODUCTION.  
THESE HAVE BEEN ~~EXPLORED~~ BY MODERN SEX  
PSYCHOLOGISTS. ( THEY INSIST THAT "THE  
DIFFERENCE IN INTENSITY IS USUALLY EXAGGERATED  
BY KEEPING KNOWLEDGE OF SEXUAL MATTERS FROM  
GIRLS, OR BY SUGGESTING THAT THERE IS SOMETHING  
EVIL IN THEM. SEX IS DISGRACEFUL FOR NICE  
GIRLS.



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## THE CELEBRATED GYNAECOLOGIST, KISCH

TELLS US:

"THE SEXUAL IMPULSE IS SO POWERFUL IN CERTAIN LIFE PERIODS IT IS AN ELEMENTARY FORCE WHICH SO OVERWHELMINGLY DOMINATES THE ENTIRE ORGANISM OF WOMAN THAT IT LEAVES NO ROOM IN HER MIND FOR THOUGHTS OF REPRODUCTION; ON THE CONTRARY, SHE GREATLY DESIRES SEXUAL INTERCOURSE EVEN WHEN SHE IS VERY MUCH AFRAID OF BECOMING PREGNANT OR WHEN THERE IS NO QUESTION OF ANY PREGNANCY OCCURRING."

AND DR. BLOCH WRITES:

"I HAVE MYSELF ASKED A GREAT MANY CULTURED WOMEN ABOUT THIS MATTER. WITHOUT EXCEPTION THEY DECLARED THE THEORY OF THE LESSER SEXUAL SENSIBILITY OF WOMEN TO BE ERRONEOUS; MANY



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WERE EVEN OF THE OPINION THAT SEXUAL  
SENSIBILITY WAS GREATER AND MORE ENDURING IN  
WOMAN THAN IN MAN.

DR. BLOCH EVEN INSISTS THAT "IN THE  
MAJORITY OF CASES THE SEXUAL FRIGIDITY OF  
WOMAN IS, IN FACT, APPARENT MERELY EITHER  
BECAUSE BEHIND THE VEIL PRESCRIBED BY CON-  
VENTIONAL MORALITY, BEHIND THE APPARENT COLDNESS,  
THERE IS CONCEALED AN ARDENT SEXUALITY, OR  
ELSE BECAUSE THE PARTICULAR MAN WITH WHOM SHE  
HAS HAD INTERCOURSE HAS NOT SUCCEEDED RIGHTLY  
IN AWAKENING HER EROTIC SENSIBILITY, SO  
COMPLICATED AND SO DIFFICULT TO AROUSE.  
WHEN HE HAS SUCCEEDED IN DOING SO, THE SEXUAL  
SENSIBILITY WILL, IN THE MAJORITY OF CASES,  
DISAPPEAR."

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*The Sex Taboo*

PEOPLE OFTEN AGAINST THEIR WILL. THE MOTIVE

FOR DIVORCE FOR INSTANCE WHICH IN VERY MANY

CASES IS THE DECIDING FACTOR.

WHAT IS COMMONLY CALLED INCOMPATIBILITY

OF TEMPERAMENTS IS NEARLY ALWAYS THE DIRECT

RESULT OF LACK OF SEXUAL HARMONY - THE DISCREPANCY

FACTION AND FRICTION WHICH ARISE WHEN THE

CHEMICAL NATURE OF SEX IN THE MAN AND WIFE

FAIL TO BLEND HARMONIOUSLY.

TAKE FRIGIDITY IN SOME WOMEN LARGELY DUE

TO THE DEADENING EFFECT OF THE SEX TABOO.

SUCH WOMEN CANNOT EVEN IF THEY TRY DESPERATELY

RESPOND TO THE SEX URGE IN THE MAN. (IN FACT,

THE VERY THOUGHT OF THE SEXUAL EMBRACE TO SUCH

WOMEN IS TORTURE. (EVEN IF THE MAN LACKS

REFINEMENT AND IMPOSES HIS NEEDS ON HIS WIFE

HE WILL FIND NO SATISFACTION. (IN THE END HE

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21624

14 24  
SEeks GRATIFICATION ELSEWHERE.

THERE IS

QUITE A PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED MEN AMONG THE

CLIENTELE OF PROSTITUTION.

SEX IS MORE

POWERFUL THAN ALL DECISIONS.

THE MAN WILL

GROW INDIFFERENT AND IN THE END INSIST ON

DIVORCE.

*He can  
afford to be married  
for a number of  
months for  
his mistress*

713

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21625

IN POINT OF TRUTH, MANY WIVES DARE NOT

GIVE THEMSELVES TO THE UTTERMOST FOR FEAR

THAT THEIR HUSBANDS WOULD FIND THEM TOO

AGGRESSIVE, LACKING IN THE RIGHT KIND OF

FEMININITY. MOST MEN ARE BROUGHT UP TO

BELIEVE THAT WOMAN MUST BE TAKEN AND NOT GIVE

HERSELF GLADLY AND JOYOUSLY IN LOVE AND PASSION.

THAT ALSO PREVENTS THE MORE SENSITIVE OF

THE MALE SPECIES TO GIVE THEMSELVES FREELY -

THEY ARE AFRAID TO OUTRAGE AND SHOCK THE

SENSIBILITIES AND INNOCENCE OF THEIR WIVES.

YOU WOULD BE SURPRISED HOW FREQUENT WIVES DO

FEEL SHOCKED AND OUTRAGED.

LAURA, THE WIFE OF THE CAPTAIN IN STRINDBERG'S

"FATHER", GIVES US THE KEY TO THE THOUGHTS

AND FEELINGS OF A GREAT MANY WOMEN. SHE TELLS

714

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HER HUSBAND, "WHEN I FIRST CAME INTO YOUR LIFE

I WAS LIKE A SECOND MOTHER TO YOU. I LOVED

YOU LIKE MY CHILD. BUT WHEN THE NATURE OF

YOUR FEELINGS CHANGED AND YOU APPEARED AS MY

LOVER, I BLUSHED AND YOUR MARRIAGE WAS JOY THAT

WAS FOLLOWED BY REMORSEFUL CONSCIENCE AS IF MY

BLOOD WERE ASHAMED." THAT IS THE TRAGEDY

OF MANY WOMEN. HOW DID THIS FEELING COME

ABOUT?



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*Don as* *49 tells us* 21627  
EDWARD CARPENTER IN THE IMPORTANCE OF SEX.

~~PHYSIOLOGY AND ZOOLOGY SHOW US~~  
~~THE SEXUAL LIFE AT THE ROOT OF BEAUTY AND~~  
~~THE ART-SENSE -- THAT IT CANNOT AND MUST NOT BE~~  
~~IGNORED. THE SEX-LIFE, FROM THE MOST~~  
~~PRIMITIVE FORMS ONWARDS, SEEKS UNION,~~  
~~COHESION. ( EVERYWHERE IT IS MAKING SIGNALS~~  
~~OF ATTRACTION: ( IN PLANTS BY THE BRIGHT COLORS~~  
~~AND FORMS OF THE FLOWERS; IN BIRDS BY THE~~  
~~WINNING SWEETNESS OF THEIR SONG. THE BOWER-~~  
~~BIRD OF AUSTRALIA DECORATES ITS "RUN" WITH~~  
~~FLOWERS AND FEATHERS; THE PEACOCK MESMERIZES~~  
~~ITS MATE; THE ELKS HOOT TO EACH OTHER ACROSS~~  
~~THE FORESTS; THE FIREFLIES FLASH THEIR LAMPS~~  
~~AT NIGHT; THE AIR IS FULL OF MYSTIC ODORS~~  
~~WAFTED. ( EVERY FACULTY AND FORM OF NATURE IS~~  
~~LAI D UNDER CONTRIBU TION FOR THE EXPRESSION OF~~  
~~THE GREAT NEED OF UNION WHICH SURGES UP THROUGH~~  
~~THE ANIMAL WORLD. ( EVERYTHING IS TURNED INTO~~

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2 49 21620

AN INDICATION, A SYMBOL, A TOKEN, A MESSAGE,

A CALL. ( THE FACULTY IS A SOCIAL ONE. ( IT

IS THE BEGINNING OF THE PANORAMA OF ART.

( WE SHALL NOT I THINK GO VERY FAR WRONG IF

WE SAY THAT IN THE FREE SANE ACCEPTATION OF THE

HUMAN BODY, ( IN ALL ITS FACULTIES, ( LIES THE

MASTER-KEY TO THE ART OF THE FUTURE.

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ALL THE MODERN WRITERS ON SEX HAVE PROVEN  
THAT THE OLD NOTION OF SEX AS BEGINNING WITH  
PUBERTY IS FALSE. / THE SEX IMPULSE LIKE  
ALL OUR IMPULSES BEGINS AT BIRTH AND ENDS WITH  
DEATH. (THOUGH IN OPPOSITION ~~IN~~ OTHER  
ANIMALS, MAN CANNOT INTERPRET HIS SEXUAL  
APPETITES BY ACTION BEFORE THE END OF A  
RESPECTABLE NUMBER OF YEARS (A WONDERFUL CAUSE  
OF NERVOUS DISORDERS FROM WHICH ANIMALS  
FAITHFUL TO THE PERIODIC RETURNS OF SEXUAL  
EXCITEMENT ARE FREE), IT NONE THE LESS SEEMS  
AS THOUGH THERE WAS AN AWAKENING OF SEXUALITY  
IN HIM FROM THE EARLIEST DAYS OF HIS LIFE;  
(FOR FREUD AND SCHOOL, SEXUAL IDEAS COME INTO  
BEING THE TIME THE CHILD IS GIVEN THE BREAST.

IT SEEMS IT IS NOT ALONE THE SENSATION  
OF THE SATISFACTION OF APPETITE WHICH IMPELS

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21630

THE NEW-BORN CHILD TO SEIZE THE BREAST OF HIS  
MOTHER OR NURSE. ( IN THIS LITTLE SHAPELESS  
BALL, IN WHOM THE WHOLE RANGE OF SENSATIONS HAS  
NOT YET COME INTO BEING, A SPECIAL, ANTICI-  
PATORY IMAGINATION CAUSES THE PLEASURE OF  
SATISFIED APPETITE TO BE ALREADY COMPLICATED  
BY A MORE SPECIALIZED ENJOYMENT.

( AND LATER IT WILL BE FROM THE EARLIEST  
YEARS THAT THE CHILD'S IMAGINATION IS TURNED  
TOWARDS SEXUAL IMAGES. ( ISOLATED FROM THE  
WORLD, (KNOWING AS YET NOTHING BUT FAMILY  
LIFE, (ALREADY POSSESSED OF DESIRES WHICH  
NATURE WILL NOT ALLOW HIM TO SATISFY TILL A  
DISTANT FUTURE, (THE CHILD WILL TURN HIS SEXUAL  
IMAGINATION TOWARDS THE NEAREST OBJECTS, (THE  
ONLY ONES WHICH HE CAN HAVE IN SIGHT. ( THERE  
WILL BE IN EARLY INFANCY AN IMAGINATIVE CRISIS  
WHICH WILL OFTEN HAVE A DISTANT REACTION UPON

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21631

PARTICULAR, WITH SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT, WHICH

IS ONLY ONE DEPARTMENT OF THESE ENDOCTRINE

ACTIVITIES.

FORMERLY ALL THESE MANIFESTATIONS WERE

MET WITH DENSE IGNORANCE AND STUPIDITY.

OVER AND OVER AGAIN MOTHERS HAVE WHIPPED AND

STILL WHIP THEIR RAPLESS CHILDREN WHEN THEY

SEE THE LEAST MANIFESTATION OF SEX. OR

THEY TERRORISE THEM AND PUT THE STIGMA OF

DEPRAVITY ON THEIR CHILDREN. I COULD CITE

HUNDREDS OF EXAMPLES FROM MY OWN EXPERIENCE

AS TRAINED NURSE,

THE MAN RARELY STARVES SEXUALLY.

THE FLOURISHING BUSINESS OF PROSTITUTION IS

PROOF FOR THAT.

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21632

SOCIETY DEMANDS THAT THE YOUNG ADULT

MAN AND WOMAN (ESPECIALLY WOMAN) SHALL REPRESS

THE SEX-IMPULSE FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS --

OFTEN FOR THE WHOLE OF THEIR LIFE. (THE

THWARTING OF SUCH AN INSTINCTIVE URGE CANNOT

BE ACHIEVED IN THE NORMAL PERSON WITHOUT

INTERFERENCE WITH HEALTH -- (ALL SORTS OF

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL DISORDERS MAY RESULT;

(AND OFTEN THE IMPULSE, TOO STRONG TO BE

THWARTED, FINDS AN OUTLET IN SOME INFANTILE

OR ABNORMAL CHANNEL.

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21633

THE CHLOROSIS OF YOUR HEAVENLINESS.

THE

SOUL IS SAVED, THE BODY MAY PERISH!

O LAIS,

O NIMON!

HOW WELL YOU DID TO SCORN THIS

PALE VIRTUE :

ONE FREE GRISETTE AGAINST A

THOUSAND MAIDENS GROWN GRAY IN VIRTUE!.."

THERE IS NOTHING MORE PATHETIC AND CRUEL

THAN THE LIFE OF THE OLD MAID OR BACHELOR WHO

HAVE GROWN GRAY WITH VIRTUE.

BARRED IN

THOUGHT AND FEELING THEY GROW GROUCHY, ENVIOUS,

JEALOUS.

THEY BEGRUDGE THE YOUNG THEIR

LIGHT HEARTEDNESS AND GAIETY.

YET CAN THEY

BE BLAMED?

CERTAINLY NOT.

THEY ARE THE

VICTIMS OF A RIDICULOUS SEX MORALITY

IT IS CERTAIN THAT SEXUAL REPRESSION

OVER A LONG PERIOD OF YEARS EVEN IF IT DOES

NOT BRING ABOUT COMPLETE MENTAL DERANGEMENT

CREATES MANY ANTI-SOCIAL PECULIARITIES AND

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21634

1 *point a finger*

*of scorn against capitalist*  
One can not seriously defend liberty when one aspires to  
the negation thereof namely to Dictatorship

*persecution of ideas*

One has no right to protest against the suppression

of thought speech and press in other countries and

justify the complete suppression of every breath in

ones own. The enemies of revolution can well point

to Red Russia as their best example for their

persecution the persecution of their political

opponents and the suppression of all freedom. And

Hitler as well as Mussolini have proven first rate

imitators.

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21635

WOMEN WHO PARTICIPATE IN DANGEROUS AND  
STRENUOUS SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITIONS.

WOMEN ENGAGED IN DISTINGUISHED SCIENTIFIC  
RESEARCH.

WOMEN AT THE HEAD OF LARGE INDUSTRIAL  
AND FINANCIAL CONCERNS, NOT TO SPEAK OF THE  
MILLIONS OF WOMEN IN EVERY PROFESSION AND TRADE.

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Even to-day medical science knows of methods of preventing conception which approach perfection; and here and there in most of the countries of the world, doctors, biologists, and chemists are engaged in research in the endeavour to find something even better. With scientific discoveries the demand goes far to create the supply, and it cannot be long now before the perfect contraceptive will be discovered.

Even with healthy parents, the limitation of offspring will always be necessary, for many reasons:

2163

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21637

A GOOD DOCTOR WOULD HARDLY PERMIT A PATIENT  
TO GO INTO A COUNTRY WHERE A TYPHOID EPIDEMIC  
WAS RAGING, WITHOUT INOCULATING HIM AGAINST THE  
DISEASE. BUT WOULD THIS BE ANY MORE UNETHICAL  
THAN ALLOWING A PATIENT TO RUN THE RISK OF  
BECOMING PREGNANT AT THE COST OF HER HEALTH AND  
POSSIBLY HER LIFE?

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21638  
M. Schuler Wang

Malthus 1795

Pioniere für die Geburtenkontrolle englisch

Lange Zeit für eine Idee

erstes Blättchen (Flugblatt), das Vorbeugungsmittel beschreibt, wurde 1823 gedruckt und Robert Owen zugeschrieben. Lange zuvor veröffentlicht Robert Malthus, ein Geistlicher, seinen Essay über Bevölkerung. Er machte Propaganda für die Kontrolle der Nachkommenschaft.

James Mill war ein anderer Vorläufer für den Neo-Malthusianismus. Er behandelte die Angelegenheit beissend in der höchst anständigen Encyclopaedia Britannica. Sein Sohn, John Stuart Mill, einer der grössten liberalen Denker, entging knapp der Verhaftung, als er

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TODAY THERE IS NO TRADE OR PROFESSION

CLOSED TO WOMAN.

THE ANTIDILUVIAN CONTENTION OF THE MALE

THAT WOMAN IS AN INFERIOR BEING, HENCE WILL

NEVER REACH HIS HEIGHTS ~~OF HIM THE GREATER~~

LEADER AND DIRECTOR OF THE UNIVERSE HAS LONG

BEEN THIS BEEN DEMOLISHED.

IT WAS A WOMAN WHO SWAM THE ENGLISH

CHANNEL.

WOMEN WHO HAVE MASTERED THE AIR EVEN AS

MEN.

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H. M. PARSHLEY. PROFESSOR OF ZOOLOGY

AT SMITH COLLEGE, MADE A TELLING COMMENT  
ON THIS VIEW AT THE 1934 AMERICAN CONFERENCE  
ON BIRTH CONTROL AND NATIONAL RECOVERY.  
"SO CAN MAN," HE SAID, "DECIDE NOT TO EAT  
ON CERTAIN DAYS, OR FOR FORTY DAYS, OR TO  
THE POINT OF STARVATION, IF HE FEELS IMPELLED  
TO SUCH SACRIFICE IN THE LIGHT OF WHAT HE  
REGARDS AS REASON; AND HE CAN EQUALLY  
NEGLECT THE PRECAUTIONS AND CONSCIOUSLY  
INHIBIT THE REACTIONS THAT SERVE NATURALLY  
THE NEED FOR PROTECTION. BUT THE QUESTION  
REMAINS UNTOUCHED BY THIS ARGUMENT. WE  
MUST STILL ASK: IS HOW FAR AND WITH WHAT  
PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS CAN  
REPRESSION OF THE SEX IMPULSE BE ACCOMPLISHED  
IN NORMAL PEOPLE?"

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21641

PROFESSOR AUGUST FOREL, IN HIS BOOK,  
"THE SEXUAL QUESTION," PUTS THE MATTER  
BALDLY:

"WHEN A DOCTOR FORBIDS A HUSBAND TO  
HAVE SEXUAL INTERCOURSE WITH HIS WIFE, HE  
EXPOSES HIMSELF TO TWO DANGERS. IF THE  
HUSBAND REMAINS CONTINENT AND SLEEPS IN A  
SEPARATE ROOM FOR TOO LONG A TIME, CONJUGAL  
LOVE MAY BECOME SO COOLED THAT A PERMANENT  
BARRIER IS ESTABLISHED BETWEEN HUSBAND AND  
WIFE. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, HE ABANDONS  
HIMSELF TO PROSTITUTION HE MAY CONTRACT  
VENEREAL DISEASE AND INFECT HIS WIFE. ~~AGAIN~~  
~~THE HUSBAND MAY BECOME ENAMORED OF ANOTHER~~  
~~AND WRECK THE HAPPINESS OF HIS FAMILY."~~

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21642

THE TEACHING OF MEN LIKE ELLIS HAS  
LED MANY MODERN-MINDED PROTESTANT MINISTERS  
TO STUDY THE PHYSIOLOGY AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF  
SEX SO THAT THEY CAN BETTER ADVISE YOUNG  
MARRIED PEOPLE HOW TO LIVE FULLY-ROUNDED  
LIVES.

FREUD HAS SAID, "THE FEAR OF CONSEQUENCES  
IS FATAL TO THE PHYSICAL FONDNESS OF THE  
MATES AND LATER ON TO THE MENTAL FONDNESS  
WHICH SHOULD REPLACE THE STORMY PASSION OF  
THE FIRST EMBRACE."

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21643

"WE HAVE BEEN MARRIED THREE YEARS AND  
HAVE FOUR CHILDREN, AND I HAVE LOST MY HEALTH.  
I AM SO NERVOUS I CAN HARDLY DO MY WORK.  
THE DOCTOR TELLS ME IT IS BECAUSE I HAVE GIVEN  
BIRTH TO CHILDREN SO OFTEN."

A YOUNG WOMAN TWENTY-ONE WRITES, "I  
AM ALREADY THE MOTHER OF FIVE CHILDREN, THE  
OLDEST SIX YEARS OF AGE AND THE BABY THREE  
MONTHS. MY CHILDREN ARE WELL, BUT I AM  
AWFULLY WEAK, WEIGHING NINETY POUNDS."

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6  
The left <sup>6</sup> see the least  
aggressive corner  
classical - in the sleeping  
mother and whisper  
in the eye  
Wharm. I. and a  
shall know nothing  
at heart the same

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21645

WOMEN WHO WISH TO PLAN THEIR CHILDREN SHOULD  
KNOW FIRST OF ALL WHAT IS THE BEST CHILD-BEARING  
AGE. WOODBURY'S STUDY ON "MATERNAL MORTALITY"  
SHOWS THAT THERE IS THE LEAST RISK OF DEATH  
BETWEEN TWENTY AND TWENTY-FOUR, TWICE AS MUCH  
RISK BETWEEN THIRTY-FIVE AND THIRTY-NINE,  
AND A STILL GREATER RISK AFTER FORTY.  
OBSTETRICIANS, HOWEVER, SAY THAT AN OCCASIONAL  
HEALTHY WOMAN OF FORTY OR SO COMES THROUGH  
A FIRST BIRTH WITHOUT DIFFICULTY. BUT  
WOMEN IN THEIR LATE THIRTIES MUST REMEMBER,  
IN MAKING THEIR PLANS, THAT THE MENOPAUSE MAY  
BE JUST AROUND THE CORNER.

DR. JOSEPHINE KENYON, WHO IS ASSISTANT  
PROFESSOR OF NEUROLOGY AT THE COLLEGE OF  
PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,  
AND WHO SEES MANY WOMEN OF THE EDUCATED AND  
PROFESSIONAL CLASSES, SAYS THAT SHE BELIEVES

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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THE MENOPAUSE COMES AT AN EARLIER AVERAGE AGE  
TODAY THAN IT DID FORMERLY. SHE DOES NOT  
KNOW WHETHER URBAN LIFE CAN BE BLAMED, BUT SHE  
FINDS THAT IT IS NOT UNUSUAL FOR THE CHANGE  
TO COME BETWEEN THIRTY-SEVEN AND FORTY.

WHETHER CERTAIN TYPES OF WOMEN HAVE A  
SHORTER SPAN, WHETHER THE AGE AT WHICH A WOMAN  
MATURES BEARS ANY RELATION TO THE APPEARANCE  
OF THE MENOPAUSE, WHETHER CLIMATE HAS ITS  
INFLUENCE -- ARE QUESTIONS WHICH MEDICAL  
SCIENCE HAS STILL TO SETTLE.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

880710011

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WOODBURY'S STUDY OF CAUSAL FACTORS IN  
INFANT MORTALITY SHOWS THAT MOTHERS UNDER  
EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE LOSE THE GREATEST NUMBER  
OF BABIES, WHILE THE INFANTS OF MOTHERS BETWEEN  
TWENTY-FIVE AND TWENTY-NINE STAND THE BEST  
CHANCE OF SURVIVING. THE YEARS TWENTY  
TO TWENTY-FOUR, AND THIRTY TO THIRTY-FOUR  
ARE ALSO FAVORABLE TO THE CHILD'S CHANCES.

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IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT WELL-TO-DO WOMEN WHO HAVE THE BEST MEDICAL CARE AND WHO ARE NOT OVER-BURDENED WITH HOUSEWORK HAVE A MUCH LOWER MATERNAL DEATH RATE ALL ALONG THE LINE. WOODBURY'S STUDY SHOWS A DIRECT CORRELATION BETWEEN FAMILY INCOME AND MATERNAL DEATHS.

LATER PREGNANCIES ARE AS GREAT A RISK TO THE CHILD AS TO THE MOTHER. THE SECOND CHILD STANDS THE BEST CHANCE OF SURVIVAL, BUT FROM THE FOURTH PREGNANCY ON, THE INFANT DEATH RATE STEADILY MOUNTS, UNTIL FOR THE TENTH CHILD THE RISK IS ALMOST DOUBLE WHAT IT IS FOR THE SECOND CHILD. THE BULK OF WOODBURY'S FIGURES, OF COURSE, ARE BASED ON FAMILIES OF SLIGHT MEANS WHERE THE LATER-BORN CHILDREN GET EVEN POORER FOOD AND CARE THAN THE EARLY ONES, AND SO ARE

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21649

**MORE VULNERABLE TO THE DISEASES OF INFANCY.**

**"STILL," HE CONCLUDES, "WHEN ALL ALLOWANCES**

**HAVE BEEN MADE, A MARKEDLY GREATER MORTALITY**

**WILL BE FOUND AMONG BIRTHS OF LATER THAN AMONG**

**THOSE OF EARLIER ORDERS."**

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21650

EFFECTIVE, IS PERNICIOUS."

WRITING IN THE SAME MOOD, THE REVEREND  
JOSEPH REINER, IN AN INTRODUCTION TO  
"THE RHYTHM OF STERILITY AND FERTILITY,"  
BY DR. LEO J. LATZ, OF LOYOLA UNIVERSITY,  
CHICAGO, ADMITS THAT "THE ADVANCES WHICH  
THE HERESY OF CONTRACEPTION HAS MADE WITHIN  
A DECADE ARE TERRIFYING." FATHER REINER  
REJOICES, THEREFORE, THAT A NEW DISCOVERY  
OF MEDICAL SCIENCE "SHOWS US A WAY OUT OF  
THE DIFFICULTY WITHOUT A COMPROMISE OF  
PRINCIPLE."

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THIS YOUNG WOMAN BELONGED TO THE UNFORTUNATE  
GROUP OF WOMEN WHO SUFFER FROM A SERIOUS DISEASE  
THAT IS AGGRAVATED BY PREGNANCY. THE LIST  
OF THESE DISEASES IS NOT SO VERY LONG, BUT  
IT INCLUDES THE MAJOR CHRONIC DISTURBANCES  
TO WHICH WOMEN ARE SUSCEPTIBLE.

*repeatedly written to Emma  
not possible*

A DISCUSSION OF SYMPTOMS WOULD BE OUT OF  
PLACE IN SUCH A BOOK AS THIS; SO I WILL IN-  
CLUDE ONLY A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE DISEASES  
THAT ARE COMPLICATED BY PREGNANCY, QUOTING  
FOR THE MOST PART FROM DICKINSON'S AND BRYANT'S  
"CONTROL OF CONCEPTION."

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1. THAT A LOWER BIRTH RATE WOULD  
RESULT IN A DECREASED POPULATION, AND
  2. THAT A DECREASED POPULATION WOULD BE DELETERIOUS.
- IN THEIR FIRST CONTENTION THEY ARE WRONG.

IN HOLLAND, WHERE CONTRACEPTION IS  
PRACTISED MORE EXTENSIVELY THAN ELSEWHERE, ITS  
EFFECT HAS CERTAINLY BEEN TO REDUCE THE BIRTH  
RATE; BUT THE DEATH RATE HAS BEEN SO MUCH  
DECREASED ON ACCOUNT OF THE BETTER CARE TAKEN  
OF CHILDREN IN SMALL FAMILIES, THAT THE POPU-  
LATION HAS ACTUALLY INCREASED.

THEIR SECOND CONTENTION, THE RAISON D'ETRE  
FOR WHICH IS DESTROYED BY THE INACCURACY OF  
THEIR FIRST, IS ALMOST CERTAINLY UNTRUE.  
MANY OF THE EVILS OF LIFE IN EUROPE ARE CAUSED  
BY OVER-POPULATION.

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21653

DOCTORS CAN HARDLY BE SO NAIVE AS TO THINK  
THAT SUCH ADVICE AS "TELL YOUR HUSBAND TO BE  
GOOD" OR "TELL HIM TO SLEEP IN ANOTHER ROOM"  
IS GOING TO PREVENT PREGNANCY IN EVERY CASE.  
YET COUNTLESS WOMEN SAY THEIR DOCTORS GIVE  
THEM NO OTHER ADVICE.

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21654

IN THE EDUCATED CLASSES FEAR OF UNWANTED  
PREGNANCIES FREQUENTLY LEADS TO SEXUAL MALADJUST-  
MENT, WHICH HAS BEEN CALLED "THE GREAT  
AMERICAN SIN." IN "A THOUSAND MARRIAGES,"  
BY DR. ROBERT LATOU DICKINSON AND LURA BEAM,  
THE AUTHORS PRESENT CLINICAL OBSERVATIONS MADE  
DURING HALF A CENTURY'S GYNECOLOGICAL PRACTICE  
AMONG WOMEN OF THE PROFESSIONAL AND WELL-TO-DO  
CLASSES IN NEW YORK.

HE FOUND 375 OF THE GROUP OF 1,000  
MORE OR LESS DISSATISFIED WITH THEIR MARRIAGES.  
"NEARLY EVERY ONE OF THIS GROUP," DR.  
DICKINSON SAYS, "COMPLAINED OF ONE FEAR OR  
ANOTHER -- FEAR OF PREGNANCY, FEAR OF LABOR,  
OR FEAR OF DEATH."

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21655

WHILE THE METHODS WHICH ARE RECOMMENDED  
ARE NOT NEW, MUCH MORE IS KNOWN THAN FORMERLY  
ABOUT THEIR EFFECTIVE APPLICATION, THANKS TO  
THE CAREFUL WORK WHICH THE BIRTH-CONTROL CLINICS  
AND A NUMBER OF PRACTICING PHYSICIANS HAVE  
DONE. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE, FURTHERMORE,  
THAT APPROVED METHODS ARE EITHER HARMFUL TO  
HEALTH OR CONDUCTIVE TO STERILITY, AS HAS BEEN  
CLAIMED BY THE OPPONENTS OF BIRTH CONTROL.

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1. TO PREVENT DEBILITY IN THE MOTHER DUE TO  
TOO FREQUENT CHILD-BEARING. THE PERIOD OF  
PREGNANCY AND SUCKLING SHOULD LAST EIGHTEEN  
MONTHS, AND MOST MOTHERS NEED NINE MONTHS' REST  
BEFORE THEY BEGIN AGAIN THE STRAIN OF ANOTHER  
REPRODUCTIVE CYCLE. THE OPTIMUM INTERVAL  
BETWEEN BIRTHS IS FROM TWO TO THREE YEARS.

2. IF THE MOTHER IS DEBILITATED BY TOO  
FREQUENT PREGNANCIES, THE UNBORN CHILD IS  
ENFEEBLED BY ITS MOTHER'S DEBILITY -- IT IS  
ROBBED OF ITS BIRTHRIGHT BEFORE IT COMES INTO  
THE WORLD.

3. THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF A CHILD'S LIFE ARE  
CRITICAL YEARS, AND DURING THIS TIME IT NEEDS  
ITS MOTHER'S UNDIVIDED ATTENTION. IF BABIES  
ARE BORN AT TOO FREQUENT INTERVALS, THE  
ATTENTION OF THE MOTHER MUST BE DIVIDED BETWEEN

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21657

HER BABIES AND BOTH MAY SUFFER.

4. AT PRESENT THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN A

FAMILY SHOULD BE LIMITED IN ACCORDANCE WITH

THE ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF THE FAMILY, BUT

WHEN SOCIETY ASSUMES THE SUPPORT OF MOTHERS

AND CHILDREN THIS REASON FOR CONTRACEPTION

WILL DISAPPEAR.

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EVEN THE MOST CURSORY STUDY OF VITAL  
STATISTICS DEMONSTRATES THE WASTEFULNESS OF  
EXCESSIVELY LARGE FAMILIES. AS THE SIZE OF  
THE FAMILY INCREASES FROM TWO UPWARDS, THE  
DEATH RATE OF THE CHILDREN INCREASES AT FIRST  
SLOWLY, AND THEN VERY SWIFTLY.

THIS IS PARTLY EXPLAINED BY THE FACT THAT  
IN OUR PRESENT SOCIETY, INCREASED SIZE OF A  
FAMILY OFTEN MEANS SHORTAGE OF FOOD; BUT,  
EVEN WHEN SOCIETY PROVIDES THE MATERIAL SUS-  
TENANCE, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO PROVIDE THE  
NECESSARY ATTENTION; AND, EVEN IF THIS IS  
ATTAINED BY ENLISTING THE SERVICES OF OTHER  
WOMEN WHO ARE NOT ENGAGED IN ATTENDING TO  
CHILDREN OF THEIR OWN, IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE  
TO GUARD THE MOTHER AND CHILD AGAINST THE  
DEBILITY PRODUCED BY TOO FREQUENT MOTHERHOOD,  
UNLESS INDEED WE PICK SOME WOMEN OUT TO BE

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21689

BREEDERS, AND RELIEVE THEM OF ALL OTHER

ACTIVITIES SO AS TO REDUCE THE STRAIN ON

THEIR ENERGY AS FAR AS POSSIBLE. THE BEES

HAVE DONE SOMETHING OF THIS SORT -- IT IS

NOT IMPOSSIBLE, THOUGH I THINK IT IS UNLIKELY,

THAT MANKIND MAY FOLLOW THEIR EXAMPLE.

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21660

IN THE FUTURE AS I SEE IT, CONTRACEPTION  
WILL BE UNIVERSALLY PRACTISED BY ALL NORMAL  
PEOPLE. THE BEST ADVICE ON THIS SUBJECT  
WILL BE OBTAINABLE BY ALL FROM THE DOCTORS.  
THE DOCTOR OF THE FUTURE WILL HAVE A GREATER  
KNOWLEDGE OF SEX-MATTERS THAN HAS THE DOCTOR  
OF TO-DAY. EVERY MEDICAL SCHOOL WILL HAVE  
ITS CHAIR OF SEXUAL SCIENCE, SUCH AS EXISTS  
TODAY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KONIGSBERG;  
EVERY LARGE CITY WILL HAVE ITS INSTITUTE OF  
SEXUAL SCIENCE, SUCH AS EXISTS TODAY IN  
BERLIN UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF ITS FOUNDER,  
DR. MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD.

THE MEDICAL STUDENT WILL BE TRAINED IN  
SEXOLOGY, AND PART OF HIS TRAINING WILL DEAL  
WITH CONTRACEPTION. HE WILL BE ABLE TO ADVISE  
HIS PATIENTS WHICH CONTRACEPTIVE METHODS ARE  
TRUSTWORTHY AND WHICH ARE UNTRUSTWORTHY, WHICH

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THE ARGUMENT THAT CONTRACEPTION IS  
UNNATURAL AND THEREFORE IMMORAL IS A CURIOUSLY  
TWISTED RATIONALIZATION. NEARLY EVERYTHING  
WE DO IS "UNNATURAL" IN THE SENSE THAT OUR  
REMOTE ANCESTORS IN PLEISTOCENE DAYS DID NOT  
DO IT.

THOSE WHO PREACH THE "NATURAL" LIFE ARE  
SOMETIMES MERELY COMIC, AS WHEN THEY GO OFF TO  
THE WOODS CLAD ONLY IN UNDERCLOTHES, AND SOME-  
TIMES EXTREMELY CRUEL AND CALLOUS, AS WHEN  
THEY TRIED TO PREVENT THE USE OF ANAESTHETICS  
IN CHILDBIRTH BECAUSE IT WAS UNNATURAL.

THE IDEA THAT CONTRACEPTION IS IMMORAL  
BECAUSE ANY ACTS IS IMMORAL IF ONE IS NOT PRE-  
PARED TO TAKE ITS CONSEQUENCES IS SELF-  
CONTRADICTIONARY; FOR THOSE WHO PRACTISE CONTRA-  
CEPTION DO NOTHING THE CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH

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ARE HARMFUL AND WHICH ARE HARMLESS, AND IN

PARTICULAR HE WILL ADVISE THE METHOD MOST

SUITABLE IN ANY GIVEN CASE.

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INDEED, A GREAT MANY ARE BORN AGAINST  
THE WISHES OF THEIR PARENTS THROUGH THE FAILURE  
OF CONTRACEPTIVES OR ABORTIFACIENTS. EVEN  
WHERE THE PARENTS DELIBERATELY PROCREATE A  
CHILD, IT IS MORE OFTEN WITH A VIEW TO THEIR  
OWN COMFORT THAN THAT OF THE CHILD.

PARENTS SOMETIMES HAVE CHILDREN BECAUSE  
THEY WANT THEIR LINE TO BE CARRIED ON;  
SOMETIMES BECAUSE THEY THINK IT WILL BE  
PLEASANT TO BE SURROUNDED BY A FAMILY IN  
THEIR OLD AGE; SOMETIMES BECAUSE THEY WANT  
TO HAVE A SOURCE OF SUPPORT WHEN THEIR OWN  
EARNING DAYS ARE OVER. COMPARATIVELY RARELY  
DO PARENTS PROCREATE CHILDREN OUT OF A SENSE  
OF SOCIAL DUTY.

AND, INDEED, LIFE HOLDS SO MUCH UNHAPPINESS  
EVEN FOR THE MOST FORTUNATE OF US, THAT IT IS  
DIFFICULT TO ACCEPT THE TRADITIONAL SUPPOSITION

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3166A

THAT ONE'S PARENTS DID ONE A GOOD TURN BY

BRINGING ONE INTO THE WORLD. FOR MANY OF

US IT IS TRUER TO SAY THAT, WHATEVER SACRIFICES

OUR PARENTS MAKE, THEY CAN NEVER COMPENSATE

FOR THE INJURY THEY DID IN BRINGING US INTO

THE WORLD AT ALL.

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THEY ARE UNPREPARED TO TAKE. IT WOULD BE  
ABSURD TO SAY TO A MAN, "IT IS IMMORAL FOR  
YOU TO STEP INTO THAT LIFT, BECAUSE YOU ARE  
UNPREPARED TO TAKE THE CONSEQUENCES OF ITS NOT  
BEING THERE."

TWO MAIN ADVANTAGES ACCRUE FROM A SENSIBLE  
USE OF CONTRACEPTIVES. FIRSTLY, IT IS  
POSSIBLE FOR PEOPLE TO LIVE NORMAL ~~MARRIED~~ LIVES  
WITHOUT THE ENORMOUS STRAIN BEING PUT UPON  
WOMEN OF HAVING CONTINUALLY TO START TO BEAR  
ANOTHER CHILD BEFORE THEY HAVE PROPERLY  
RECOVERED FROM THEIR LAST PREGNANCY.

FOR REAL HEALTH OF MOTHER AND CHILD, AT  
LEAST TWO YEARS SHOULD INTERVENE BETWEEN ONE  
BIRTH AND THE NEXT. MANY DOCTORS CONSIDER  
FIVE YEARS A MORE PROPER INTERVAL.

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SECONDLY, FROM THE CHILD'S POINT OF VIEW  
THE ADVANTAGES ARE ENORMOUS; FOR EXCEPT IN  
WELL-TO-DO FAMILIES THE ARRIVAL OF EACH CHILD  
REDUCES THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE OTHERS.

BESIDES THESE TWO ADVANTAGES, THERE ARE  
OTHERS OF A MORE SPECIAL NATURE. FOR INSTANCE,  
A WOMAN'S HEALTH MAY FORBID HER THE POSSIBILITY  
OF BEARING A CHILD AND SURVIVING, BUT WITH  
CONTRACEPTIVES SHE IS NOT PREVENTED FROM LIVING  
NORMALLY WITH HER HUSBAND. AGAIN, MANY  
NEWLY-MARRIED PEOPLE WHO ARE AS YET WITHOUT  
PROPER ACCOMMODATION FOR THE UPBRINGING OF A  
CHILD MAY ADVANTAGEOUSLY WAIT UNTIL THEY ARE  
MORE SUITABLY HOUSED.

IT IS REASSURING TO FIND THAT THERE ARE  
NOT VERY MANY WELL-EDUCATED PEOPLE NOWADAYS,  
EXCEPT THOSE WHOSE MINDS ARE MADE UP FOR THEM

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BY THE AUTHORITIES OF THEIR RELIGION, WHO  
OPPOSE THE PRACTICE OF CONTRACEPTION. IT IS  
UNFORTUNATE THAT THE VOICE OF THOSE WHO ARE  
OPPOSED TO CONTRACEPTION IS A DISPROPORTIONATELY  
LOUD ONE, OWING TO THE REACTIONARY NATURE OF THE  
GREATER PART OF OUR DAILY PRESS.

CONTRACEPTION OFFERS BETTER HEALTH TO  
WOMEN, BETTER NOURISHMENT AND EDUCATION TO  
CHILDREN, AND A NORMAL SEXUAL LIFE TO MANY  
WHO WOULD OTHERWISE BE DENIED IT.

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WHEN MARRIED PEOPLE ASK THEIR MEDICAL  
ADVISER FOR INFORMATION, HE MAY REFUSE  
OWING TO SOME RELIGIOUS OR SOCIAL PREJUDICE;  
OFTEN, WITH THE BEST WILL IN THE WORLD, HE  
CANNOT HELP; HE HIMSELF DOES NOT KNOW, FOR  
IN HIS MEDICAL SCHOOL HE HAS BEEN TAUGHT  
NOTHING ABOUT.

THE PATIENT, UNABLE TO GET INFORMATION  
FROM HER DOCTOR, GOES TO A NURSE OR TO SOME  
OTHER LAY PERSON FOR ADVICE.

NOW, INCOMPETENT IN THIS MATTER AS THE  
UNTRAINED DOCTOR MAY BE, THE NON-MEDICAL  
ADVISER MUST BE EVEN WORSE; FOR NO NON-  
MEDICAL PERSON, AT THE PRESENT DAY, RECEIVES  
A TRAINING WHICH RENDERS HIM OR HER COMPETENT  
TO MAKE THE NECESSARY PSYCHOLOGICAL AND  
PHYSICAL EXAMINATION, ARRIVE AT THE CORRECT

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INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS, DETERMINE THE  
CONTRACEPTIVE MOST SUITABLE FOR A GIVEN  
PATIENT, AND GIVE THE NECESSARY INSTRUCTION  
AS TO ITS USE.

THE STUDENT OF SEXOLOGY IS SURPRISED  
AND ALARMED AT THE EXTENT OF ILL-HEALTH DUE  
TO FAULTY METHODS OF CONTRACEPTION. IN THE  
FUTURE, WITH THE PROGRESS OF PREVENTIVE  
MEDICINE, MUCH OF THIS WILL BE AVOIDED.

MANKIND IS GRADUALLY LEARNING THE  
PRACTICAL TRUTH OF THE ADAGE PREVENTION IS  
BETTER THAN CURE.

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THE DOCTOR OF THE FUTURE WILL BE MORE  
CONCERNED WITH THE PREVENTION OF DISEASE THAN  
WITH ITS CURE, AND WILL PROBABLY GET A  
RETAINING-FEE FOR KEEPING EACH PERSON OR GROUP  
OF PERSONS WELL, INSTEAD OF BEING PAID ONLY  
WHEN THEY ARE ILL. AT PRESENT WE MAKE IT  
THE DOCTOR'S INTEREST TO KEEP HIS PATIENT  
ILL AS LONG AS POSSIBLE, AND IT IS A TESTIMONY  
TO THE HIGH DEGREE OF DEVELOPMENT OF MAN'S  
SOCIAL SENSE THAT THE MEDICAL PROFESSION  
WORK, FOR THE MOST PART, AGAINST THEIR OWN  
INTERESTS. IN THE FUTURE, HOWEVER, THE  
DOCTOR WILL HAVE AN ADDITIONAL STIMULUS TO  
KEEP PEOPLE HEALTHY -- HE WILL DO IT TO SAVE  
HIMSELF UNNECESSARY WORK.

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WHILE BIRTH CONTROL IS STILL A CONTENTIOUS  
ISSUE, IT HAS BECOME RESPECTABLE. THE  
AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION HAS NOT YET RECOG-  
NIZED CONTRACEPTION AS A MEDICAL PROBLEM.  
BUT NUMBERS OF EMINENT PHYSICIANS, AS WELL  
AS VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN THE PROFESSION,  
HAVE UNEQUIVOCALLY DECLARED THAT CONTRA-  
CEPTION IS A NECESSARY BRANCH OF PREVENTIVE  
MEDICINE.

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IN SEPTEMBER, 1934, THERE WERE 147 CLINICS  
AND MOTHERS' CENTERS SCATTERED OVER THE COUNTRY,  
AND MORE ARE BEING ORGANIZED EVERY MONTH.  
THESE CENTERS OF BIRTH-CONTROL INFORMATION ARE  
OF DIFFERENT TYPES, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE ALL STAFFED  
BY ACCREDITED PHYSICIANS.

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"THE WATER FROM THE FIRE-BUCKET OF THE  
SMITH, WHEN DRUNK CONTINUOUSLY AFTER EVERY  
MENSTRUAL PERIOD, OUGHT TO CAUSE STERILITY."

THE BELIEF THAT A WOMAN CANNOT CONCEIVE  
WHILE SHE IS NURSING IS VERY COMMONLY HELD.

DR. STOPEs TELLS IN HER BOOK, "CONTRA-  
CEPTION," A NOT UNTYPICAL STORY OF A PREG-  
NANCY OCCURRING DURING THE NURSING PERIOD.

A WOMAN IN COMFORTABLE CIRCUMSTANCES, HEALTHY  
AND STRONG, WAS ASSURED BY BOTH HER DOCTOR AND  
NURSE AFTER HER FIRST CHILD WAS BORN, THAT SHE  
COULD HAVE RELATIONS WITH HER HUSBAND WHILE  
SHE WAS NURSING, WITHOUT FEAR OF CONCEIVING.  
SHE FOLLOWED THEIR ADVICE AND BECAME PREGNANT  
WITHIN A MONTH. THE SECOND CHILD WAS BORN  
TEN MONTHS AFTER THE FIRST, AND WAS SO WEAK

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[Sexuality, Motherhood, and Birth Control] / Emma Goldman. — [1935?, fragment]. — 108 p. ; 31 × 21 cm.

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21674

HE WAS DEAD IN EARLY INFANCY. THE HUSBAND,  
INDIGNANT THAT THEY SHOULD HAVE BEEN MISIN-  
FORMED, FINALLY OBTAINED ADVICE ABOUT CONTRA-  
CEPTION, AND THE THIRD CHILD WAS SAFELY BORN,  
THREE YEARS LATER.

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21675

THIS TEST IS KNOWN AS THE ASCHHEIM-  
ZONDEK, OR THE A-Z, ALTHOUGH FRIEDMAN'S  
MODIFICATION, USING RABBITS INSTEAD OF MICE,  
SAVES TIME AND IS RATHER GENERALLY FOLLOWED.

A SMALL AMOUNT OF THE PATIENT'S URINE IS  
INJECTED INTO THE VEINS OF TWO IMMATURE RABBITS  
AND AFTER THE INJECTION THE RABBIT IS KEPT IN  
A CAGE FOR FORTY-EIGHT HOURS AND THEN KILLED  
AND EXAMINED. CERTAIN MATURING CHANGES IN  
THE ANIMAL'S OVARIES AND UTERUS ARE PROOF OF  
PREGNANCY, AND IF THE CHANGES HAVE NOT TAKEN  
PLACE THE DIAGNOSIS IS NEGATIVE. THE TEST  
HAS PROVED ABOUT 95 PER CENT CORRECT IN  
CLINICAL PRACTICE. IN SKILLED HANDS, WHEN  
TWO RABBITS INSTEAD OF ONE ARE USED, THE RATIO  
OF CORRECT RESULTS RUNS AS HIGH AS 99 PLUS PER  
CENT ACCORDING TO A PAPER RECENTLY PREPARED FOR  
THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

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21676

BY DR. GOLDEN GOR, SALMON, AND FRANK OF

MT. SINAI HOSPITAL, NEW YORK.

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21677

### IN DISCUSSING THE PREVENTION OF STERILITY

DR. MEAKER GIVES GOOD ADVICE TO PARENTS. A  
GROWING GIRL'S BLOOD COUNT SHOULD BE WATCHED,  
SHE SHOULD MAINTAIN REGULAR HABITS OF EATING,  
AND SHE SHOULD HAVE A SIMPLE, WHOLESOME AND  
ABUNDANT DIET WITH AN ADEQUATE AMOUNT OF PROTEIN  
IN IT.

STARVATION TO REDUCE WEIGHT IS DANGEROUS.  
HE CAUTIONS, MENTIONING THE CASES OF THREE  
YOUNG WOMEN WHO WENT ON A RIGOROUS DIET WHEN  
THEY WERE SEVENTEEN OR EIGHTEEN AND HAVE NEVER  
MENSTRUATED SINCE. HEALTHY PHYSICAL EXERCISE  
IS DESIRABLE, BUT CONSIDERABLE HARM, HE AGREES  
WITH DR. CARY, CAN RESULT FROM EITHER PHYSICAL  
OR MENTAL OVER-EXERTION.

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21678

DR. ROBERT LATOU DICKINSON AND LURA BEAM  
FOUND IN THEIR STUDY OF "A THOUSAND MARRIAGES"  
AMONG WELL-TO-DO AND PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE,  
AS MANY AS 252 COUPLES, OR 25 PER CENT OF THE  
WHOLE GROUP, WHO WERE INVOLUNTARILY STERILE,  
AND PROBABLY A THIRD MORE WHOSE FERTILITY WAS  
VERY LIMITED.

SIMILARLY, DR. KATHARINE BEMENT DAVIS,  
IN HER "FACTORS IN THE SEX LIFE OF 2200 WOMEN,"  
REPORTS THAT OF 255 MARRIED WOMEN OF THE EDUCATED  
CLASS WHO NEVER HAD USED CONTRACEPTIVES, 74,  
OR ABOUT 20 PER CENT, HAD FAILED TO BECOME  
PREGNANT. THESE PERCENTAGES ARE SO HIGH  
AS TO SUGGEST THAT THE CHILDLESSNESS OF SOME  
OF THE WOMEN STUDIED MAY HAVE BEEN DUE NOT TO  
THEIR OWN AND THEIR HUSBAND'S INNATE STERILITY,  
BUT TO FAILURE OF THE PARTNERS TO ACHIEVE A  
COMPLETE SEXUAL UNION, OR TO COHABIT WITH ANY

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21679

DEGREE OF REGULARITY. MEDICAL AUTHORITIES  
ARE INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT FROM 10 TO 16  
PER CENT OF AMERICAN MARRIAGES TURN OUT TO BE  
INVOLUNTARILY STERILE IN THE ORDINARY COURSE  
OF EVENTS. THE LOWER ESTIMATE IS ACCEPTED  
BY DR. SAMUEL R. MEAKER, PROFESSOR OF GYNECOLOGY  
AT THE BOSTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, WHOSE  
BOOK, "HUMAN STERILITY," PUBLISHED IN 1934,  
AFFORDS THE LATEST AND MOST COMPREHENSIVE  
TREATMENT OF THE SUBJECT.

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21680

IT IS GENERALLY CONCEDED THAT AS A WOMAN  
PASSES OUT OF HER TWENTIES THERE MAY ARISE  
CERTAIN RISKS TO HER HEALTH WHICH, IF THEY  
MATERIALIZE, MAY PREVENT CONCEPTION OR MAKE  
PREGNANCY DANGEROUS, WHILE ANY HEART, LUNG,  
OR KIDNEY DISEASE WHICH SHE MAY HAVE WILL BE  
MORE ADVANCED AND THEREFORE A MORE SERIOUS  
HINDRANCE. A MAN'S PROCREATIVE CAPACITY IS  
LESS LIKELY TO SUFFER, SINCE HE HAS NOT THE  
BIOLOGIC RESPONSIBILITY OF COMPLETING THE  
REPRODUCTIVE PROCESS.

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21681

THE TOLL THAT ABORTION TAKES IS FRIGHTFUL  
TO CONTEMPLATE. IT IS THOUGHT THAT AT  
LEAST 8,000 WOMEN DIE EVERY YEAR FROM THE  
EFFECTS OF ABORTION, OR ATTEMPTED ABORTION,  
WHILE A FAR GREATER NUMBER SUFFER THEREAFTER  
FROM CHRONIC ILLNESS OR INCURABLE STERILITY.

female to quote  
the actual number  
of deaths. Ask  
about this

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21682

IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT IS IS ONLY TEN SHORT  
YEARS AGO THAT ADEQUATE FACTUAL INQUIRIES INTO  
MARRIAGE AND SEX EDUCATION BEGAN TO BE PUBLISHED,  
AND THE INVESTIGATORS -- DAVIS, HAMILTON,  
DICKINSON-BEAM, AND KOPP -- MAKE NO LONG LIST.

THE BIOLOGICAL BASIS FOR SEX EDUCATION  
HAS BEEN WELL LAID BY MARSHALL, PARSHLEY  
AND GUTTMACHER.

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## THREE OF THE GREATEST STRIDES OF MEDICINE

HAVE BEEN TOWARD THESE GOALS:

CONTROL OF PAIN IN LABOR AND

OPERATION;

CONTROL OF INFECTION IN CHILDBIRTH

AND SURGERY;

CONTROL OF COMMUNICABLE DISEASE.

( A FOURTH CONTROL, THE CONTROL OF CON-

CEPTION, REQUISITE TO SAFEGUARD LIFE AND WELL

BEING THROUGHOUT THE WORLD -- THOUGH FORMERLY

SUSPECT AND MALIGNED AS WERE <sup>all</sup> THOSE REVOLUTIONARY

TEACHINGS -- IS ON ITS WAY TOWARD ATTAINING

ITS OWN PLACE OF HONOR. COURAGE AND

WISDOM WERE CALLED FOR TO RESTRAIN THE FORCES

OF DISEASE AND DEATH; A GREATER COURAGE AND

772

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21684

A HIGHER WISDOM ARE CALLED FOR TO UNDER-  
TAKE A GUIDING PART IN THE CONTROL OF  
LIFE.

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21685

MANY WOMEN OF THE PRIVILEGED CLASSES, AS  
WELL AS MOST WOMEN OF THE POORER CLASSES, ARE  
UNINFORMED ABOUT PROPER BIRTH-CONTROL METHODS.  
THIS HAS BEEN BROUGHT OUT RECENTLY BY DR.  
RAYMOND PEARL, THE FAMOUS BIOLOGIST OF  
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

IN A HOSPITAL SURVEY OF 4,945 WOMEN  
OF ALL CLASSES LIVING IN CITIES IN 13  
DIFFERENT STATES, HE FOUND THAT 78 PER CENT  
OF THE WELL-TO-DO AND RICH WHITE WOMEN HAD  
PRACTICED BIRTH CONTROL AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER,  
BUT THAT NO MORE THAN 48 PER CENT HAD  
SUCCEEDED IN PRODUCING ONLY PLANNED AND WANTED  
BABIES, EXACTLY WHEN THEY WISHED TO HAVE THEM.

AMONG THE POOR WHITE WOMEN 33 PER CENT  
HAD PRACTICED BIRTH CONTROL, BUT ONLY 13 PER  
CENT HAD BEEN UNIFORMLY SUCCESSFUL.

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21686

"ALMOST NONE OF THE WOMEN," DR. PEARL  
SAYS, "HAD EVER HAD ANY FORMAL, ACCURATE,  
OR SCIENTIFIC INSTRUCTION IN BIRTH CONTROL.  
MANY EXPRESSED A KEEN DESIRE FOR SUCH  
INSTRUCTION BUT DID NOT KNOW WHERE TO GET  
IT."

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21687

DR. YARROS SAYS ON THIS SCORE, "WE  
HAVE ADVISED IN THE CHICAGO CLINICS AN  
INCREASING NUMBER OF YOUNG MARRIED WOMEN . . .  
AND AMONG THESE THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER  
THAT HAVE BECOME PREGNANT AFTER DISCONTINUING  
THE USE OF THE PRESCRIBED CONTRACEPTIVE.

DR. STONE MAKES THE SAME STATEMENT AND  
BACKS IT WITH A SERIES OF 112 PRIVATE PATIENTS  
OF THE MIDDLE CLASS WHO SUCCESSFULLY PLANNED  
THEIR PREGNANCIES. HER STUDY, WHICH IS TO  
BE PUBLISHED, SHOWS THAT 96 OF THESE WOMEN  
CONCEIVED WITHIN THE FIRST THREE MONTHS AFTER  
DISCONTINUING THE USE OF THE CONTRACEPTIVE,  
12 CONCEIVED BETWEEN THE FOURTH AND THE TENTH  
MONTH, 4 BECAME PREGNANT AT THE END OF A YEAR,  
AND 1 WOMAN, WHO HAD PELVIC DIFFICULTIES, AT  
THE END OF THREE YEARS.

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THE LENGTH OF TIME THAT THESE PATIENTS HAD USED CONTRACEPTIVES DID NOT SEEM TO AFFECT THEIR FERTILITY. A GOOD NUMBER WHO HAD USED CONTRACEPTIVES FOR TWO YEARS OR LONGER WERE ABLE TO CONCEIVE WITHIN A FEW MONTHS, WHILE AN OCCASIONAL WOMAN WHO HAD WAITED AS LONG AS FOUR OR FIVE YEARS BECAME PREGNANT THE FIRST OR SECOND MONTH.

THE RESULTS WOULD SUGGEST THAT THESE 112 WOMEN WERE AN UNUSUALLY FERTILE GROUP, AND YET THEY WERE NOT SPECIALLY SELECTED, BUT WERE CONSECUTIVE CASES OF WOMEN WHO CONSULTED DR. STONE FOR CONTRACEPTIVE ADVICE FOLLOWING A PLANNED PREGNANCY.

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1172 11 1689

SOME DOCTORS HAVE THE IDEE FIXE THAT WOMEN  
WHO SEEK BIRTH CONTROL INFORMATION ARE ONLY  
TRYING TO AVOID DOING THEIR DUTY. "AMERICAN  
WOMEN." SO SAYS A PHYSICIAN FROM THE NORTHWEST,  
"CAN'T GAD AND HAVE BABIES, SO THEY USE CONTRA-  
CEPTIVES WHICH USUALLY DO MORE HARM THAN GOOD."  
MANY DOCTORS WILL TELL YOU THAT "THE TROUBLE  
WITH BIRTH CONTROL IS THAT THOSE WHO SHOULD  
BRING UP CHILDREN DON'T, WHILE THE POOR PEOPLE  
HAVE TOO MANY." "HELL WILL BE CROWDED WITH  
SUCH PEOPLE."

This is made  
up of all the  
yellow sheets  
they scare  
at all the  
medical, ecclesiastical  
social, and  
other all sorts.

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778

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870923063

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30  
4 In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries great advances  
~~and before that~~  
were made in science. Printing came into use (1450). The microscope was invented (1590-1609).

Steam was harnessed (1807). Electricity was studied (1800-25).

Steel was made in quantity (1856). A thousand applications of physics and of chemistry were utilized, and industrial processes were made possible on a scale too large for the home. Factories arose. This exploitation of the tool, more commonly called the machine in recent years, has developed, until now scarcely any industrial work, save part of cooking, is done by hand in the

home. (The machine modified woman's environment tremendously and rather suddenly. (Smith H. B.: Industrial History, 1926.)

## INFLUENCE OF BIOLOGY

Great as was this influence of applied physics and

chemistry in the making of the New Woman, the influence of biological research was more potent still. In 1827, and years

following, by means of the microscope, Van Baer and others observed the organisms which unite to form the new human being.

From the advancement in exact knowledge of reproduction thus initiated, scientific methods of birth control other than



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~~34~~ 31

8473

celibacy were invented and disseminated.

Also in the field of biology, the publication of The Origin of Species (1859) indirectly affected woman's status by promulgating the conviction that human beings had not been divinely ordained once for all, but had in the past undergone evolution, and therefore might in future continue to change.

Even such a collection as the  
history of the human race  
as indications of the  
evolution of the human race  
the human race is a  
the human race is a  
the human race is a  
the human race is a

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Brain weights vary enormously. The average for adult male Europeans is about 1,375 grams, for females about 1,235. The brain of Turgeneff, the Russian novelist, weighed 2,012 grams. It is exceeded by that of only two others; one was an imbecile. Next in weight come a laborer (1,925 grams) and a bricklayer (1,900 grams). Gambetta's brain weighed only 1,294 grams. The largest woman's brain recorded is 1,742 grams; she was insane and died of consumption. The third largest woman's brain recorded weighed 1,580 grams; she also was insane.

There is no evidence that size of brain (or of head) is necessarily connected with actual or potential intelligence.

Usually, large individuals have large brains; men are larger than women. Large brains have no more units than small brains;

the units are large. A small brain is no more necessarily handicapped

than a small hand in small feet.

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8475

You can see that  
woman is anguished  
the fight for economic  
independence

Emancipation has brought woman economic equality with  
man: that is, she can choose her own profession and trade; but  
as her past and present physical training has not equipped her  
with the necessary strength to compete with man, she is often  
compelled to exhaust all her energy, use up her vitality, and  
strain every nerve in order to reach the market value. Very  
few ever succeed, for it is a fact that women teachers, doctors,  
lawyers, architects, and engineers are neither met with the same  
confidence as their male colleagues, nor receive equal

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8476

- 1 - ~~4~~ 34  
redo

remuneration. And those that do reach that enticing equality, generally do so at the expense of their physical and psychical well-being. As to the great mass of working girls and women, how much independence is gained if the narrowness and lack of freedom of the home is exchanged for the narrowness and lack of freedom of the factory, sweat-shop, department store, or office? In addition is the burden which is laid on many women of looking after a "home, sweet home"---cold, dreary, disorderly, uninviting--after a day's hard work. Glorious independence! No wonder that hundreds of girls are so willing to accept the first offer of marriage, sick and tired of their "independence" behind the counter, at the sewing or typewriting machine. They are just as ready to marry as girls of the middle class, who long to throw off the yoke of parental supremacy. A so-called independence which leads only to earning the merest subsistence is not so enticing, not so ideal, that one could expect woman to sacrifice everything for it. Our highly praised independence is, after all, but a slow process of dulling and stifling woman's nature, her love instinct, and her mother's instinct.

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~~48~~ 39

8477

Nevertheless, the position of the working girl is far more natural and human than that of her seemingly more fortunate sister in the more cultured professional walks of life--teachers, physicians, lawyers, engineers, etc., who have to make a dignified, proper appearance, while the inner life is growing empty and dead.

The narrowness of the existing conception of woman's independence and emancipation; the dread of love for a man who is not her social equal; the fear that love will rob her of her freedom and independence; ~~the horror that love or the joy~~ of motherhood will only hinder her in the full exercise of her profession---all these together make of the emancipated modern woman a compulsory vestal, before whom life, with its great clarifying sorrows and its deep, entrancing joys, rolls on without touching or gripping her soul.



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42  
10

36

0470

Emancipation, as understood by the majority of its adherents and exponents, is of too narrow a scope to permit the boundless love and ecstasy contained in the deep emotion of the true woman, sweetheart, mother, in freedom.

The tragedy of the self-supporting or economically free woman does not lie in too many, but in too few experiences. True, ~~she~~ <sup>she</sup> surpasses her sister of past generations in knowledge of the world and human nature; it is just because of this that she feels deeply the lack of life's essence, which alone can enrich the human soul, and without which the majority of women have become mere professional automatons.

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8479

46  
31  
About ~~40~~ years ago appeared a work from the pen of the brilliant Norwegian Laura Karholm, called Woman, a Character Study. She was one of the first to call attention to the emptiness and narrowness of the existing conception of woman's emancipation, and its tragic effect upon the inner life of women. In her work Laura Karholm speaks of the fate of several <sup>great</sup> gifted women of international fame: the genius Eleonora Duse; the great mathematician and writer Sonya Kovalevskaja; the artist and poet-nature Marie Bashkirtzeff, who died so young. Through each description of the lives of these women of such extraordinary mentality runs a marked trail of unsatisfied craving for a full, rounded, complete, and beautiful life, and the unrest and loneliness resulting from the lack of it. Through these masterly psychological sketches one cannot help but see that the higher the mental development of woman, the less possible it is for her to meet a congenial mate who will see in her, not only sex, but also the human being, the friend, the comrade and strong individuality, who cannot and ought not lose a single trait of her character.

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3-5  
8480

The average man with his self-sufficiency, his ridiculously superior airs of patronage towards the female sex, is an impossibility for woman as depicted in the Character Study by Laura Marholm. Equally impossible for her is the man who can see in her nothing more than her mentality and her genius, and who fails to awaken her woman nature.

A rich intellect and a fine soul are usually considered necessary attributes of a deep and beautiful personality. In the case of the modern woman, these attributes serve as a hindrance to the complete assertion of her being. *centuries* For over a hundred years the old form of marriage, based on the Bible, "till death doth part," has been ~~denounced as~~ an institution that stands for the sovereignty of the man over the woman, of her complete submission to his whims and commands, and absolute dependence on his name and support. Time and again it has been conclusively proved that the old matrimonial relation restricted woman to the function of man's servant and the bearer of his children. And yet we find many emancipated women who prefer marriage, with all its deficiencies, to the narrowness of an unmarried life: narrow and unendurable because of the chains of moral and social prejudice that cramp and bind her nature.

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8481

46 37

The explanation of such inconsistency on the part of many advanced women is to be found in the fact that they never truly understood the meaning of emancipation. They thought that all that was needed was independence from external tyrannies; the internal tyrants, far more harmful to life and growth--ethical and social conventions--were left to take care of themselves; and they have taken care of themselves. They seem to get along as beautifully in the heads and hearts of the most active exponents of woman's emancipation, as in the heads and hearts of our grandmothers.

*But in reality the majority of women  
do not understand the meaning of emancipation  
at all.*

erl.

ised upon

... domestic and political environment. When p. and purchase of this influence are fully taken into account,

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

891120001

The Tragedy of the Modern Woman / Emma Goldman. - [1934?, fragment]. - 54 p. ; 29 x 19 cm.

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*Emma Goldman*  
*in the past*  
(ALL THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS SONGS HAD ANTICIPATED  
THAT WOMAN'S EMANCIPATION WOULD SET HER FREE  
TO LIVE HER LIFE WITHOUT FEAR OF OLD TABOOS.

(MORE THAN THAT THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS SPONSORS  
FAITHFULLY PROMISE THAT WOMAN'S POLITICAL AND  
ECONOMIC EQUALITY WITH MAN ~~WILL~~ *will* ABOLISH WAR,  
PROSTITUTION, CRIME AND ALL OTHER EVILS IN THE  
WORLD.

*show*  
BUT WHAT DOES REALITY PROVE. (SIMPLY  
THIS, THAT WOMAN IN POLITICS IS BY NO MEANS  
BETTER THAN MAN AND HER RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE HAS  
HELPED HER AS LITTLE AS IT DID MOST MEN TO  
OVERCOME OUTWORN *political* SOCIAL OR MORAL VALUES.

(INDEED, WOMAN IN SPITE OF HER EMANCIPATION HAS  
TO A LARGE EXTENT REMAINED FETTERED BY HER

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790



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21002  
TRADITION

THE BEST TRADITION FOR THAT WAS ITALY AND

GERMANY WHERE EVERY ACHIEVEMENT OF WOMAN'S

STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY HAS BEEN DESTROYED AND

SHE THRUST BACK INTO THE POSITION OF THE DARK

AGE. *Five men to a gang*  
*up in rights no fight*

IN THESE FASCIST COUNTRIES WOMAN HAS AGAIN

BEEN DEGRADED TO THE ~~SLAVE OF MAN~~. *3 4 5* THERE

SHE IS AGAIN DAMNED TO PLAY ONLY ONE PART - *hand*

THAT OF INCUBATOR.

*it is again made*  
*up man to a woman*  
AND YES THEY HAVE SUNK INTO THE MOST

DEVOTED WORSHIPPERS OF MUSSOLINI AND HITLER.

TRUE, WOMAN IS MORE ELEMENTAL THAN MAN.

SHE IS WHAT THE GREAT GERMAN DRAMATIST FRANK

WEDEKIND CALLED HER "THE EARTH SPIRIT."

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

891120001

The Tragedy of the Modern Woman / Emma Goldman. — [1934?, fragment]. — 54 p. ; 29 × 19 cm.

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*no limit*  
( IN LOVE AND IN HATE SHE ~~NO LIMIT~~ LIMIT.

( WHEN SHE LOVES THE MAN, SHE TURNS HIM INTO A  
GOD AND SURROUNDS HIM WITH A SACRED HALLOR.

( IN HER BLIND IDOLIZATION SHE FAILS TO SEE  
THAT HER DEITY IS BUT HUMAN. *all too human*  
~~THE POOR POOL KNOWS ONLY TOO WELL THAT HE IS~~  
FAR FROM THE HERO IMAGINED BY HIS MOTHER, WIFE,  
DAUGHTER, OR MISTRESS.

BUT IT FLATTERS HIS VANITY TO BE SEEN  
THROUGH THEIR ROSEATE *Full of it* ~~SOLOERS~~ ~~NOBILITY~~.

( HE SOON BEGINS TO BELIEVE THAT HE IS REALLY  
*so can believe*  
THE HERO HE IS ~~MADE TO BELIEVE~~ BY HIS FEMALE  
WORSEIPPERS.

( WOMAN AS MOTHER IS EQUALLY PANATICAL IN  
HER LOVE. AND BY THAT SHE OFTEN DOES HER  
CHILDREN MORE HARM THAN GOOD.

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THE MODERN WOMAN IS A CREATURE OF  
FEAR. SHE HAS NO OTHER PLACE TO TURN THAN  
TO HER MOTHER. SHE IS A CHILD OF THE  
TYRANNICAL AND BRUTAL FATHERS WHO QUICKEN FEAR  
FROM THE TENDER HOLDS OF THEIR MOTHERS.

THE ELEMENTAL FANATICAL CHARACTERISTICS  
IN WOMAN MAKE HER EQUALLY EXTREME IN RELIGIOUS  
BELIEFS, SOCIAL OR POLITICAL IDEAS.

RUSSIA IS A CASE IN POINT. IF THE  
REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES LACKED THE SAME NUMBER  
OF ADHERENTS AMONG WOMEN THAN MEN, THE FORMER  
SHOWED GREATER ZEAL AND SUPERHUMAN COURAGE.

THIS IS TRUE OF THE PRESENT RUSSIA AS OF THE  
PAST.

MAN IS RARELY SO BLINDFOLDED BY AN IDEA.  
I MEAN IF HE CAN THINK AT ALL THAT HE FEELS

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TAKE A LENIN. HE SAW ONLY TOO CLEARLY  
THE SHORTCOMINGS OF HIS COMRADES. HE PLAYED  
AND RIDICULED THEM ON EVERY OCCASION.

( HE TOLD THEM THAT THEY MUST BECOME GOOD  
BUSINESS MEN SINCE THEY ~~ARE~~ <sup>WERE</sup> SUCH POOR COMMUNISTS.

( A FEMALE LENIN WOULD NOT HAVE SEEN THE  
WEAKNESSES OF HER COMRADES IN THE FIRST PLACE.

( AND IN THE SECOND SHE WOULD HAVE LACKED THE  
DARING TO TELL THEM THAT TO THEIR FACES EVEN  
IF SHE HAD DISCOVERED THEIR FAULTS. ( FOR, AS  
<sup>oldest</sup> I ALREADY SAID, WOMAN IS AN EXTREMIST IN HER  
LOVE AND IN HER HATE. SHE KNOWS NO BALANCE.

( SHE HAS NOT LEARNED TO THIS DAY THAT EVERY  
SINNER IS A SAINT. AND THE GREATER THE SAINT

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you have made  
the world a  
at all his great  
The god is turned  
into a devil and  
it is the only  
do we all a catch  
born in her eyes

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CORRUPTION?

ARE THE LAST WOMEN LEFT TO

FORCE JUSTER, KINDER, MORE HUMANE?

SAVE

CRIMES DIMINISHED?

QUITE THE CONTRARY.

EVERYWHERE THE

*Woman*  
~~SO-CALLED EMANCIPATED~~ WOMEN HAVE SPONSORED AND

HELPED TO ENACT THE MOST REACTIONARY LAWS.

*most all civil*  
WOMEN WERE THE STRONGEST SUPPORTERS OF

WAR TO THE EXTENT OF USING THEIR SEX CHARM

AND PERSUASION TO DRIVE THE YOUTH OF THE LAND

INTO THE TRENCHES AND DEATH.

*and*  
*Keep me all do it appear*  
*in the coming world*

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WOMEN GET THE LOUDEST AND MOST  
BOOKS, PLAYS AND CINEMAS.

RELENTLESS AND CRUEL PERSECUTORS OF THEIR  
UNFORTUNATE SISTERS. ~~THE PROSTITUTE.~~

and the best of all

(The political equality  
of a man is really  
the imagination of  
his has been a very  
great thing by the  
way of the leading  
political equality  
and the charged  
that the best of all  
the best of all

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of national spirit  
and their meanness  
I am, if they were

they  
(to be sure, I do  
do not, yet  
more or less  
woman, as I  
would get an  
any man's  
city, I am  
the other side  
na so

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all times been in the  
"lock of nature"

IN OTHER WORDS, WOMAN'S POLITICAL QUALITY  
WITH MAN HAS CONTRIBUTED PRECIOUS LITTLE TO HER  
INNER EMANCIPATION AND JUST AS LITTLE TO ~~the~~

multiplication of  
political  
of the political  
group more

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not  
 and many  
 crucified in order  
 ment can be made  
 employed in order  
 places can be  
 made? Have the  
 geographic area  
 really emancipated  
 only  
 will maintain  
 the

**THE PRESIDENT**

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LET ME BEGIN

LETTER LIKE WIND

*for my intended*

AS TO THE MIDDLE-CLASS, THE INTELLECTUAL

AND PROFESSIONAL MEMBERS CALLED THE WHITE

*collar*  
COLLAR ~~UNEMPLOYED~~, THEY, LIKE THE COMMON

LABORER, MUST STAND IN LINE FOR A JOB, A PLATE

OF SOUP, OR BREAD.

*It is simply*

AND YET THE FACT REMAINS THAT UNDER OUR

SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION THE EQUALITY OF WOMEN

*must needs*  
WITH MAN REMAINS BUT THE EQUALITY OF SLAVES.

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I HAVE FIGHTED FOR HER RIGHT TO ENTER  
PROFESSION ALL MY LIFE. NOW, WHEN THERE IS  
I CONSIDER IT IMPERATIVE FOR WOMAN TO BE  
ABLE TO EARN HER LIVING. BECAUSE TODAY  
MAN CAN NO LONGER SUPPORT OR SECURE HER. THE  
ROLES HAVE CHANGED. TODAY MILLIONS OF  
WOMEN MUST WORK NOT ONLY FOR THEIR OWN SUPPORT  
BUT ALSO FOR THAT OF THEIR FATHERS, HUSBANDS  
AND SONS.

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AND FREEDOM FIGHTERS

HER WITH THE NECESSARY KNOWLEDGE TO COMPARE

WITH MAN, SHE IS OFTEN COMPELLED TO EXHAUST

ALL HER ENERGY, USE UP HER VITALITY, AND STRAIN

EVERY NERVE IN ORDER TO REACH THE MARKET VALUE.

VERY FEW EVER SUCCEED, FOR IT IS A FACT

THAT WOMEN TEACHERS, DOCTORS, LAWYERS, ARCHI-

TECTS, AND ENGINEERS ARE NEITHER MET WITH THE

SAME CONFIDENCE AS THEIR MALE COLLEAGUES, NOR

RECEIVE EQUAL REMUNERATION.

AND THOSE WHO DO REACH THAT ENTICING EQUALITY

GENERALLY DO SO AT THE EXPENSE OF THEIR PHYSICAL

AND PSYCHICAL WELL-BEING.

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confidence in  
woman  
is a not  
you never a  
the race  
a man may  
and greater  
as you the  
the hear  
the woman of  
learning  
and the  
name except  
the

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could endure  
 institutions in  
 teachers can  
 said we'd give  
 a plain answer  
 we'd make  
~~free~~ (many countries  
 with it have  
 men reach  
 married an  
 and yet the  
 and mother  
 are produced  
 social institutions

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FREEDOM OF THE SUFFRAGE.

STORE, OF OFFICE?

IN ADDITION IS THE BURDEN WHICH IS LAID  
ON MANY WOMEN OF LOOKING AFTER A "HOME,  
SWEET HOME" -- COLD, DREARY, DISORDERLY,  
UNINVITING -- AFTER A DAY'S HARD WORK.

GLORIOUS INDEPENDENCE! ( NO WONDER THAT HUNDREDS  
OF GIRLS ARE SO WILLING TO ACCEPT THE FIRST  
OFFER OF MARRIAGE, SICK AND TIRED OF THEIR  
"INDEPENDENCE" BEHIND THE COUNTER, AT THE  
SEWING OR TYPEWRITING MACHINE.

THEY ARE JUST AS READY TO MARRY AS GIRLS  
OF THE MIDDLE CLASS, WHO LONG TO GET ON THE

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INDEPENDENCE WHICH LEADS ONLY TO EARLIER THE  
MEREST SUBSISTENCE IS NOT SO ENTICING, NOT  
SO IDEAL, THAT ONE COULD EXPECT WOMAN TO  
SACRIFICE EVERYTHING FOR IT.

OUR HIGHLY PRAISED INDEPENDENCE IS, AFTER  
ALL, BUT A SLOW PROCESS OF DULLING AND  
STIFLING WOMAN'S NATURE, HER LOVE ~~INSTINCT~~ *need*  
AND HER MOTHER INSTINCT.

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ONE IS FAR MORE NATURAL AND HUMAN THAN THAT  
OF HER SEEMINGLY MORE FORTUNATE SISTER IN  
THE MORE CULTURED PROFESSIONAL WALKS OF LIFE --  
TEACHERS, PHYSICIANS, LAWYERS, ENGINEERS,  
ETC., WHO HAVE TO MAKE A DIGNIFIED, PROPER  
APPEARANCE, WHILE THE <sup>or</sup> INNER LIFE IS GROWING  
EMPTY AND DEAD.

*Prayer  
and death*

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THE NARROWNESS OF THE EXISTING CONCEPTION  
OF WOMAN'S INDEPENDENCE AND EMANCIPATION;  
~~condemned the~~  
THE ~~DREAD OF LOVE~~ FOR A MAN WHO IS NOT HER

SOCIAL EQUAL; THE FEAR THAT LOVE WILL ROB HER

OF HER FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE; THE HORROR

THAT LOVE OR THE JOY OF MOTHERHOOD WILL ONLY

HINDER HER IN THE FULL EXERCISE OF HER

PROFESSION -- ALL THESE TOGETHER MAKE OF THE

EMANCIPATED MODERN WOMAN A COMPULSORY VESTAL.

BEFORE WHOM LIFE, WITH ITS GREAT CLARIFYING

SCORROWS AND ITS DEEP, ENTRANCING JOYS, ROLLS

~~ON WITHOUT TOUCHING OR GRIPPING HER SOUL~~

pass her by

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THE TRAGEDY OF THE MODERN WOMAN  
ECONOMICALLY FREE WOMAN DOES NOT LIE IN TOO  
MANY, BUT IN TOO FEW EXPERIENCES. TRUE, SHE  
SURPASSES HER SISTER OF PAST GENERATIONS IN  
KNOWLEDGE OF THE WORLD AND HUMAN NATURE. IT  
IS JUST BECAUSE OF THIS THAT SHE FEELS DEEPLY  
THE LACK OF LIFE'S ESSENCE, WHICH ALONE CAN  
ENRICH THE HUMAN SOUL, AND WITHOUT WHICH THE  
MAJORITY OF WOMEN HAVE BECOME MERE  
PROFESSIONAL AUTOMATONS.

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THAT SUCH A STATE OF AFFAIRS WAS DOOMED TO  
COME WAS FORESEEN BY THOSE WHO REALIZED THAT,  
IN THE DOMAIN OF ETHICS, THERE STILL REMAINED  
MANY DECAYING RUINS OF THE TIME OF THE UNDIS-  
PUTED SUPERIORITY OF MAN; RUINS THAT ARE  
STILL CONSIDERED USEFUL. AND, WHAT IS MORE  
IMPORTANT, A GOODLY NUMBER OF THE EMANCIPATED  
ARE UNABLE TO GET ALONG WITHOUT THEM.

*She was a*  
WOMAN ~~WAS~~ A SYMBOL OR PERSONIFICATION  
OF MAN'S MORALITY. SHE HAD TO LIVE FOR HIM  
THAT WHICH HE WAS UNABLE TO LIVE FOR HIMSELF.  
THIS WAS THE REASON FOR HIS INDIGNATION AT  
MORAL TRANSGRESSIONS ON HER PART. SHE HAD  
INJURED THE SYMBOL AND REVEALED HIS WEAKNESS TO  
HIM. HOWEVER, WITH THE DISCOVERY BY WOMEN THAT  
THEY COULD BE ECONOMICALLY INDEPENDENT OF MEN,  
THEY COMMENCED TO FIND THEMSELVES INTERESTING.

*(and yet many of them  
still have to be taught  
to admit this)*

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171/2  
It is unfortunately  
true that

21106  
EVERY MOVEMENT THAT AIMS AT THE DES-  
TRUCTION OF EXISTING INSTITUTIONS AND THE  
REPLACEMENT THEREOF WITH SOMETHING MORE ADVANCED  
MORE PERFECT, HAS FOLLOWERS WHO IN THEORY STAND  
FOR THE MOST RADICAL IDEAS, BUT WHO, NEVERTHE-  
LESS, IN THEIR EVERY-DAY PRACTICE, ARE LIKE THE  
AVERAGE PHILISTINE, FEIGNING RESPECTABILITY  
AND CLAMORING FOR THE GOOD OPINION OF THEIR  
OPPONENTS.

side the socialists and  
communists - make comments  
in the no. 20 CC "Woman"  
on the same subject. To  
Hally Key pointed out  
that as long as

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19  
~~REPLY TO THE~~  
~~HAD AS MUCH MORE POWER~~  
~~OF COURSE, AS LONG AS WOMAN WAS THE SLAVE OF~~  
~~MAN, SHE COULD NOT BE GOOD AND PURE, BUT NOW~~  
~~THAT SHE WAS FREE AND INDEPENDENT SHE WOULD~~  
~~PROVE HOW GOOD SHE COULD BE AND THAT HER~~  
~~INFLUENCE WOULD HAVE A PURIFYING EFFECT ON~~  
~~ALL INSTITUTIONS IN <sup>social</sup> ~~SOCIETY~~~~

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*20*  
*adly catering to*  
THIS PARALYZING ~~CONCEPT~~ OF THE OPINIONS *29*

OF OTHERS HAS BEEN MOST DISASTROUS FOR WOMAN'S

DEVELOPMENT. *(* HER SUPERIOR PSYCHOLOGICAL

PROCESSES CONSIST OF FEELINGS AND INTUITIONS.

AND WHEN THESE ARE STULTIFIED OR VIOLATED BY

BEING FORCED INTO A FALSE RELATION, *(* OR ARE

INHIBITED FROM DEVELOPMENT, *(* THE ENTIRE PERSONALITY

IS CRIPPLED. *(* THE INADEQUATE DEVELOPMENT OF

THE FUNCTION OF THOUGHT AND THE DOMINATING ROLE

PLAYED BY THE FUNCTION OF FEELING IS THE

PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMAN HAVE PRODUCED AN OBVIOUSLY

ONE SIDED EFFECT AND HAVE CAUSED MEN TO

POSTULATE THEORIES ABOUT HER, WHICH ARE GIVEN

FORTH AS THOUGH THEY WERE THE LAST WORD TO BE

SAID -- FIXED AND UNCHANGEABLE.

INDEED, THE STATEMENT THAT WOMEN ARE

INCAPABLE OF CHANGE AND THAT NO GROWTH IS

POSSIBLE FOR THEM *continues to be* ONE OF THE FAVORITE

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21107

ASSERTIONS OF THE MASOULINE WRITERS UPON THE

SUBJECT OF WOMEN'S PSYCHOLOGY. AS THE

PRESENT IS THE FIRST TIME IN OUR HISTORICAL

PERIOD IN WHICH THERE HAS BEEN ANY GENERAL

OPPORTUNITY FOR WOMEN AS A WHOLE TO THINK

FOR THEMSELVES AND TO DEVELOP IN NEW WAYS. THE

BASIS FOR THIS ASSERTION ~~DOES NOT EXIST, AND~~ *Goldman says*

IT DELIBERATELY CONCEALS AN UNSUBSTANTIAL WISH THAT

WOMEN SHOULD NOT CHANGE.

*Yet men can't see  
any of the  
reasons ~~because~~ it  
causes an un  
happy woman. Men  
don't want women  
to change*

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WE MUST BEAR IN MIND THAT THE MODERN MAN  
IS STILL VERY MUCH THE OLD ADAM. ( THERE, HE

IS NO LONGER OPPOSED TO THE DEMAND OF WOMEN  
TO SOME KNOWLEDGE AND SUCCESS IN HER PURSUITS --

A LITTLE, NOT TOO MUCH OF COURSE, ELSE SHE  
MIGHT INTERFERE WITH HIS AMBITIONS.

( SPEAKING IN GENERAL, I FOUND THAT THE  
MODERN MAN STILL HANGERS FOR THE FLESH POTS  
OF EGYPT. ( HE STILL WANTS WOMAN AS HIS HOUSE-  
KEEPER AND CARETAKER OF HIS HOME AND HIS CHILDREN.  
BUT HE WANTS HER IN MODERN CLOTHES.

( THE MODERN MAN LIKE THE OLD FASHIONED  
ADMIRE WOMAN'S PROFESSIONAL OR BUSINESS  
ACHIEVEMENTS. ( IF SHE IS THE WIFE OR DAUGHTER  
OF ANOTHER MAN

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21109

*3*  
*quote*  
BUT EVEN IN THAT HE IS NOT SINGING.

FOR THE MODERN MAN LIKE THE OLD ADAM CLINGS

TENACIOUSLY TO THE OLD NOTION THAT WOMAN IS

INFERIOR.

PROOF FOR THAT HE TELLS US IS THAT NO

WOMAN HAS YET REACHED THE STATURE OF A SHAKES- *peasant*

PEARE, GOETHE, REMBRANDT, BETHOOVEN, OR WAGNER.

HE IS NOT IN THE LEAST DETERRED FROM THIS

VIEW BY THE FACT THAT MAN IN GENERAL IS ALSO

A MERE SPARK COMPARED WITH THE FLAMES OF THE

IMMORTALS.

*I take ages  
to give up a  
cherished supple-  
mentary. Hence  
is not surprising  
that modern man*

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*Handwritten: Tell Gold, I thought this was the relation of man's head*

MR. KILIS'S GREAT BOOK ~~ON~~ A DELIGHTFUL

IMPRESSION OF BIPARTISANSHIP. HE TELLS MANY

AMUSING ANECDOTES OF DIFFERENCES ONCE FIRM

HEAD AND NOW DISCARDED *and all do* ~~THESE ARE THE MATTER~~

OF THE SIZE OF THE HEAD. BECAUSE MAN'S

HEAD WAS LONG THOUGHT TO BE LARGER THAN WOMAN'S.

IT WAS ARGUED THAT WOMEN COULDN'T KNOW SO MUCH,

AND SO MUSTN'T BE ENTRUSTED WITH IMPORTANT

AFFAIRS, AND THAT NO GREAT THINKERS OR INVENTORS

COULD BE FOUND AMONG THEM. *11*

*Headlock Ellis*

AFTER A TIME, HE POINTS OUT ~~COLLECTIVELY~~.

IT WAS DISCOVERED THAT THE SIZE OF THE BRAIN

BEARS AN IMPORTANT RELATION TO THE SIZE OF

THE BODY, AND THAT A FAIRLY LARGE HEAD ON A

LARGE MAN MAY BE RELATIVELY SMALLER THAN A

FAIRLY SMALL HEAD ON A SMALL MAN. IT WAS

THEREUPON DISCOVERED THAT FAR FROM BEING

SMALLER WOMEN'S HEADS WERE ACTUALLY LARGER THAN

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20  
21111  
MEN'S, RELATIVELY TO THE SIZE OF THE BODY.

THIS WOULD SEEM A CONCLUSION FAVOURABLE TO  
WOMAN.

IF SHE HAD BEEN PREVIOUSLY SHUT OUT FROM  
INTELLECTUAL PURSUITS AND RELEGATED TO DOING,  
SEWING, SWEEPING AND SCRUBBING BECAUSE HER  
HEAD WAS SMALLER THAN MAN'S, PERHAPS NOW HER  
ROLE AND MAN'S SHOULD BE REVERSED. BUT NOT  
SO FAST, NOT SO FAST, VARIOUS PEOPLE CAUTIONED.  
"WHAT'S IN A BRAIN AFTER ALL?" THEY ASKED,  
AND EXERCISED CONSIDERABLE INGENUITY IN DIS-  
COVERING THE USELESSNESS, EVEN THE POSITIVE  
DANGER, OF BRAINS. //

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21112

*Handwritten:* ~~Ellis~~ ~~THE SUBJECT~~

~~BY INVESTIGATING THE SIX~~

LARGEST MALE BRAINS ON RECORD, FINDING THAT

THE LARGEST BELONGED TO A TOTALLY UNDIS-

TINGUISHED INDIVIDUAL, THE NEXT TO AN IMBECILE,

THE THIRD TO TURGENIEV, THE FOURTH TO AN

ORDINARY LABOURING MAN, THE FIFTH TO A BRICK-

LAYER, THE SIXTH TO CUVIER.

EVEN MORE DISTURBING RESULTS WERE YIELDED

BY THE SIX LARGEST FEMALE BRAINS. OF THE SIX,

TWO BELONGED TO INSANE WOMEN, THREE TO SANE BUT

UNDISTINGUISHED WOMEN, AND THE SIXTH TO A

BRILLIANT MEDICAL STUDENT WHO COMMITTED SUICIDE.

A LARGE BRAIN IS A PERILOUS POSSESSION, DR. ELLIS

NOT UNNATURALLY CONCLUDED, THRICE PERILOUS

FOR A WOMAN.

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HELEN MONTAGU MADE A SIMILAR RESEARCH AND

CAREFULLY ELIMINATED SEX DIFFERENCES

THEY MEASURED 2,000 NEW-BORN INFANTS, 1,000

OF EITHER SEX, AND FOUND NO DIFFERENCE WHAT-

EVER IN VARIABILITY BETWEEN THE SEXES, AND

ALSO NONE IN STILL-BORN INFANTS.

Used, of all these  
given which men's facts  
in a paper, the 'Medical  
and a male  
in  
very great

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

891120001

The Tragedy of the Modern Woman / Emma Goldman. — [1934?, fragment]. — 54 p. : 29 x 19 cm.

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21114

IT IS NOT HALF SO REMARKABLE THAT WOMEN  
HAVE MISSED SUPREME GREATNESS IN THE ARTS AS  
THAT THEY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE ANYTHING  
AT ALL. FOR IN THE ARTS, MORE THAN ANYWHERE  
ELSE, SPIRITUAL FREEDOM IS ESSENTIAL TO GREAT  
ACHIEVEMENT; AND SPIRITUAL FREEDOM MEANS A  
GREAT DEAL MORE THAN THE MERE ABSENCE OF FORMAL  
RESTRAINT UPON THE PROCESSES OF WRITING BOOKS  
OR PAINTING PICTURES.

THE PREVAILING NOTION THAT A WOMAN MUST  
AT ALL COSTS CULTIVATE THE APPROVAL OF THE  
WORLD LEST SHE FAIL, THROUGH LACK OF IT, TO  
MANOEUVRE HERSELF SUCCESSFULLY INTO THE ONLY  
OCCUPATION THAT SOCIETY SHOWED ANY CORDIALITY  
ABOUT OPENING TO HER -- THIS PUT A HEAVY PREMIUM  
ON DISSIMULATION AND ARTIFICE.

WOMEN HAVE NOT DARED FREELY TO BE THEM-  
SELVES. EVEN TO THEMSELVES. IT WAS THE

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EFFECT OF THIS CONSTRAINT THAT STENDHAL NOTED

WHEN HE REMARKED THAT THE REASON WHY WOMEN,

WHEN THEY BECOME AUTHORS, RARELY ATTAIN THE

SUBLIME. . . . IS THAT THEY NEVER DARE TO BE

MORE THAN HALF CANDID."

AND WOMAN HAS NOT LEARNED TO BE CANDID

BECAUSE SHE IS STILL VERY MUCH OF A <sup>the great</sup> PURIST.

*afraid of what others will say*  
THE TRAGEDY OF THE MODERN WOMAN IS SHE

LACKS COURAGE TO BE INWARDLY FREE. EVEN

WITH HERSELF SHE IS NOT FRANK. AND THE FIRST

CONDITION OF CREATIVE ENDEAVOUR IS TO BE

*able to stand* *skin and all*  
SPECIALLY CRITICAL OF ONE'S WORK. ANOTHER

IMPORTANT POINT IS TO HAVE COURAGE AND WILL TO

*in deed* PAY THE HIGHEST PRICE EXACTED BY CREATIVE ART *an*

EVEN IF IT MEANS TO FORSWEAR MANY TIES DEAR

TO US. FOR IT IS ONLY TOO TRUE THAT ONE CAN

NEVER SERVE TWO MASTERS. *stead and*  
*Doesn't in the same*  
*time*

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21116  
WOMAN IS STILL DEATHENED BY SENTIMENTAL  
CONSIDERATIONS! SHE STILL HAS TOO MANY GODS.

THE RESULT IS LACK OF CONCENTRATION AND  
STICKTUATIVENESS SO ESSENTIAL <sup>to</sup> EVERY GOAL  
ONE WISHES TO REACH.

WOMAN HAS NOT YET LEARNED THAT IN  
NINETY-NINE CASES OUT OF A HUNDRED MAN HAS  
BECOME GREAT BECAUSE HE HAD THE NERVE TO  
BREAK THROUGH EVERY OBSTACLE TO IGNORE  
SENTIMENTALISM AND ALL THE OLD NONSENSE ABOUT  
DUTY, OBLIGATION AND WHAT NOT.

<sup>mal</sup>  
THE MAN, ARTIST, SCIENTIST, INVENTOR AND  
DISCOVERER, IF HE HAS A WIFE AND FAMILY IS  
USUALLY LOOKED AFTER BY THEM, HIS COMFORT,  
HIS QUIET, HIS EASE ARE PROVIDED FOR HIM,  
EVERYTHING SET AT NAUGHT FOR HIS SAVE.

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21117

IF HE HAS NO WIFE, HIS MISTRESS WILL GIVE  
UP ALL TO HELP MAKE HIS CAREER, OR SOME DEVOTED  
HOUSEKEEPER, IN SHORT SOME POOL WOMAN.

HOW MANY MEN HAVE GIVEN UP THEIR CAREER  
FOR THE WOMAN? I DOUBT WHETHER THERE IS SUCH  
A BREAK. IN MOST CASES WOMEN ENGAGED IN

STUDIES, IN SCIENTIFIC PURSUITS, AS WRITERS  
OR ARTISTS NOT ONLY MUST TAKE CARE OF THEM-

SELVES BUT OFTEN ALSO OF THE HOME, THE CHILDREN,  
AND NOT THE LEAST THEIR HUSBANDS. I KNOW

QUITE A NUMBER OF SUCH CASES. OR, IF THEY  
HAVE NO HUSBANDS THEY MUST GO WITH HALF THEIR

CRAVINGS STARVED, STUNTED, SINCE THEY ARE NOT  
LIKE THE MAN OPENLY, HAVE LOVE IN THEIR LIVES.

IN SHORT WOMAN HAS NOT YET LEARNED TO  
MARCH TO VICTORY REGARDLESS OF THE DEFEAT OF  
THOSE IN HER WAY. HENCE SHE HAS NOT REACHED

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32 10  
4  
~~ABOUT ELEVEN YEARS AGO APPEARED A BOOK~~

~~BY THE PEN OF THE BRILLIANT NORWEGIAN~~

*Marholm*  
LAURA MARHOLM, CALLED "WOMAN, A CHARACTER

STUDY." SHE WAS ONE OF THE FIRST TO CALL

ATTENTION TO THE EMPTINESS AND NARROWNESS OF

THE EXISTING CONCEPTS OF WOMAN'S EMANCIPATION,

AND ITS TRAGIC EFFECT UPON THE INNER LIFE OF

WOMAN.

IN HER WORK LAURA MARHOLM SPEAKS OF THE

FATE OF SEVERAL GIFTED WOMEN OF INTERNATIONAL

FARE: THE GENIUS ELEANORA DUSE; THE GREAT

MATHEMATICIAN AND WRITER SONYA KOVALEVSKAIA;

THE ARTIST AND POET-NATURE MARIE BASHKIRTZEFF,

WHO DIED SO YOUNG.

THROUGH EACH DESCRIPTION OF THE LIVES OF

THESE WOMEN OF SUCH EXTRAORDINARY MENTALITY

RUNS A MARKED TRAIL OF UNSATISFIED CRAVING

FOR A FULL, ~~ROUNDED~~, COMPLETE, AND BEAUTIFUL

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LIFE, AND THE UNREST AND LONELINESS RESULTING  
FROM THE LACK OF IT.

THROUGH THESE MASTERLY PSYCHOLOGICAL  
SKETCHES ONE CANNOT HELP BUT SEE THAT THE  
HIGHER THE MENTAL DEVELOPMENT OF WOMAN, THE  
LESS POSSIBLE IT IS FOR HER TO MEET A CONGENIAL  
MATE WHO WILL SEE IN HER, NOT ONLY SEX, BUT  
ALSO THE HUMAN BEING, THE FRIEND, THE COMRADE  
AND STRONG INDIVIDUALITY, WHO CANNOT AND OUGHT  
NOT LOSE A SINGLE TRAIT OF HER CHARACTER.

THE AVERAGE MAN WITH HIS SELF-SUFFICIENCY,  
HIS RIDICULOUSLY SUPERIOR AIRS OF PATRONAGE  
TOWARDS THE FEMALE SEX, IS AN IMPOSSIBILITY FOR  
WOMAN AS DEPICTED IN THE "CHARACTER STUDY"  
BY LAURA MARHOLM. EQUALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR HER  
IS THE MAN WHO CAN SEE IN HER NOTHING MORE  
THAN HER MENTALITY AND HER GENIUS, AND WHO FAILS  
TO AWAKEN HER WOMAN NATURE.

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DEEP AND BROAD PERSONALITY. IN THE CASE

A HINDRANCE TO THE COMPLETE ASSERTION OF HER

1995

OF THE MODERN WORLD.

A HINDRANCE TO THE COMPLETE ASSERTION OF HER

BEING.

*self* *self* *inter* *circle*

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21121

*Adyem*  
THE FRENCH WRITER JEAN RABREAU, IN ONE  
OF HIS NOVELS, "THE BEAUTY," ATTEMPTS TO  
PICTURE THE IDEAL, BEAUTIFUL, EMANCIPATED  
WOMAN. (THIS IDEAL IS EMBODIED IN A YOUNG  
GIRL, A PHYSICIAN. SHE TALKS VERY CLEVERLY  
AND WISELY OF HOW TO FEED INFANTS; SHE IS  
KIND, AND ADMINISTERS MEDICINES FREE TO POOR  
MOTHERS.

(SHE CONVERSES WITH A YOUNG MAN OF HER  
ACQUAINTANCE ABOUT THE SANITARY CONDITIONS OF  
THE FUTURE, AND HOW VARIOUS BACILLI AND GERMS  
SHALL BE EXTERMINATED BY THE USE OF STONE  
WALLS AND FLOORS, AND BY THE DOING AWAY WITH  
RUGS AND HANGINGS. SHE IS, OF COURSE,  
VERY PLAINLY AND PRACTICALLY DRESSED, MOSTLY  
IN BLACK.

THE YOUNG MAN, WHO, AT THEIR FIRST MEETING

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830



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21122

36  
WAS OVERAWED BY THE WISDOM OF HIS EMANCIPATED

FRIEND, GRADUALLY LEARNS TO UNDERSTAND HER.

AND RECOGNIZES ONE FINE DAY THAT HE LOVES HER.

THEY ARE YOUNG, AND SHE IS KIND AND BEAUTIFUL,

AND THOUGH ALWAYS IN RIGID ATTIRE, HER APPEARANCE

IS SOFTENED BY A SPOTLESSLY CLEAN WHITE COLLAR

AND CUFFS.

ONE WOULD EXPECT THAT HE WOULD TELL HER

OF HIS LOVE, BUT HE IS NOT ONE TO COMMIT

ROMANTIC ABSURDITIES. POETRY AND THE ENTHU-

SIASM OF LOVE COVER THEIR BLUSHING PAGES BEFORE

THE PURE BEAUTY OF THE LADY. HE SILENCES

THE VOICE OF HIS NATURE, AND REMAINS CORRECT.

SHE, TOO, IS ALWAYS EXACT, ALWAYS RATIONAL,

ALWAYS WELL BEHAVED. I FEAR IF THEY HAD

FORMED A UNION, THE YOUNG MAN WOULD HAVE

RISKED FREEZING TO DEATH.

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- 36 / 2

21123

I MUST CONFESS THAT I CAN SEE NOTHING  
BEAUTIFUL IN THIS NEW BEAUTY, ~~THAT IS AS~~

AS THE STONE WALLS AND FLOORS SHE DREAMS OF.

RATHER WOULD I HAVE THE LOVE SONGS OF ROMANTIC  
AGES, RATHER DON JUAN AND MADAME VENUS,

RATHER AN ELOPEMENT BY LADDER AND ROPE ON A

MOONLIGHT NIGHT, (FOLLOWED BY THE FATHER'S CURSE,

MOTHER'S MEANS, AND THE MORAL COMMENTS OF

NEIGHBOURS, THAN CORRECTNESS AND PROPRIETY

MEASURED BY YARDSTICKS. IF LOVE DOES NOT

KNOW HOW TO GIVE AND TAKE WITHOUT RESTRICTIONS,

IT IS NOT LOVE, BUT ~~A TRANSACTION~~ THAT NEVER

FALLS TO LAY STRESS ON A PLUS AND A MINUS.

at all

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*me.*

~~FORGED NEW ONES.~~ THE GREAT MOVEMENT OF  
~~so far~~  
TRUE EMANCIPATION HAS NOT MET WITH A GREAT  
RACE OF WOMEN WHO COULD LOOK LIBERTY IN THE  
FACE. THEIR NARROW PURITANICAL VISION  
BANISHED MAN, AS A DISTURBER AND DOUBTFUL  
CHARACTER, OUT OF THEIR EMOTIONAL LIFE.

THEY THOUGHT THAT ALL THAT WAS NEEDED WAS  
INDEPENDENCE FROM EXTERNAL TYRANNIES; THE  
INTERNAL TYRANTS, FAR MORE HARMFUL TO LIFE AND  
GROWTH -- ETHICAL AND SOCIAL CONVENTIONS --  
WERE LEFT TO TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES; AND THEY  
HAVE TAKEN CARE OF THEMSELVES. THEY SEEM  
TO GET ALONG AS BEAUTIFULLY IN THE HEADS AND  
~~in the hearts of the most active workers of America~~  
HEARTS OF THE MOST ACTIVE WORKERS OF AMERICA  
EMANCIPATION, AS IN THE HEADS AND HEARTS OF  
OUR GRANDMOTHERS.

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It is only the  
true that the  
modern woman  
has days with  
her old spots  
and also she is  
haunted by new  
one.

FORGED NEW ONES.

THE GREAT MOVEMENT OF

TRUE EMANCIPATION HAS NOT MET WITH A GREAT

RACE OF WOMEN WHO COULD LOOK LIBERTY IN THE

FACE. THEIR NARROW PURITANICAL VISION

BANISHED MAN, AS A DISTURBER AND DOUBTFUL

CHARACTER, OUT OF THEIR EMOTIONAL LIFE.

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38  
21125

THESE INTERNAL TYRANTS, WHETHER THEY BE  
IN THE FORM OF PUBLIC OPINION OR WHAT WILL  
MOTHER SAY, OR BROTHER, FATHER, AUNT, OR  
RELATIVE OF ANY SORT; WHAT WILL MRS. GRUNDY,  
MR. CONSTOCK, THE EMPLOYER, THE BOARD OF  
EDUCATION SAY? ALL THESE BUSYBODIES,  
MORAL DETECTIVES, JAILERS OF THE HUMAN  
SPIRIT, WHAT WILL THEY SAY?

See the entire piece in the  
magazine in the  
Emma Goldman Archive

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21126  
 WILL SOME EVER REACH THE  
 THAT ONLY THE FUTURE CAN TELL. MEANWHILE

SHE IS IN NEED OF UNHAMPERED GROWTH OUT OF

OLD TRADITIONS AND HABITS. THE MOVEMENT

FOR WOMAN'S EMANCIPATION HAS SO FAR MADE BUT

THE FIRST STEP IN THAT DIRECTION. (IT IS TO

BE HOPED THAT IT WILL GATHER STRENGTH TO MAKE

ANOTHER. THE RIGHT TO VOTE, OR EQUAL CIVIL

RIGHTS, MAY BE GOOD DEMANDS, BUT TRUE EMANCI-

PATION BEGINS NEITHER AT THE POLLS NOR IN THE

COLLEGE. IT BEGINS IN WOMAN'S SOUL. Mind

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IT IS NECESSARY THAT WOMEN LEARN TO ACCEPT  
THEMSELVES AND TO VALUE THEMSELVES AS BEINGS  
POSSESSING A WORTH AT LEAST EQUAL TO THAT OF  
THE OTHER SEX, INSTEAD OF UNTHINKINGLY  
ACCEPTING STANDARDS BASED ON MASCULINE PSYCHOLOGY.  
THEN WOMEN WILL RECOGNIZE THE NECESSITY OF  
DEVELOPING THEIR TOTAL PSYCHIC CAPACITIES JUST  
AS IT IS NECESSARY FOR MEN TO DO. BUT THEY  
WILL SEE THAT THIS DOES NOT INVOLVE IMITATION  
OF MEN OR REPUDIATION OF THEIR MOST VALUABLE  
PSYCHIC FUNCTIONING. *The* *that* *na*  
*THE* *DEED* *TRUTH*  
THAT IT HAS AT LAST BECOME APPARENT TO MANY  
WOMEN THAT MEN CANNOT REDEEM THEM.

HISTORY TELLS US THAT EVERY OPPRESSED  
CLASS GAINED TRUE LIBERATION FROM ITS MASTERS  
THROUGH ITS OWN EFFORTS. IT IS NECESSARY

THAT WOMAN LEARN THAT LESSON, THAT SHE REALIZE  
THAT HER FREEDOM WILL REACH AS FAR AS HER POWER  
TO ACHIEVE HER FREEDOM ~~REACHES~~ *love for it* *and* *she need* *IT IS THEREFORE.*

~~IT IS MORE IMPORTANT FOR HER TO BEAT WITH HER~~

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INNER REGENERATION, TO GET LOOSE FROM THE  
WEIGHT OF PREJUDICES, TRADITIONS, AND CUSTOMS.

IF EMANCIPATION IS TO BECOME COMPLETE  
~~AND THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMAN~~ IT WILL HAVE TO  
DO AWAY WITH THE ABSURD NOTION OF THE CONFLICT  
OF THE SEXES, OR THAT MAN AND WOMAN REPRESENT  
TWO ANTAGONISTIC WORLDS.

THERE IS NO CONQUEROR AND CONQUERED IN  
~~THE RELATION OF MAN AND WOMAN~~ THERE IS  
ONLY THE NEED OF GIVING ONESELF BOUNDLESSLY,  
~~IN~~ IN OR TO FIND ONESELF RICHER DEEPER AND FINER.  
HOWEVER, IN A SOCIAL SENSE WOMAN WILL ONLY  
BECOME TRULY FREE WHEN MAN WILL BECOME FREE.

THERE IS NO MERIT IN BEING THE EQUAL OF SLAVES  
IN A SLAVE SOCIETY. ( THE MAIN TASK IN THE  
WORLD TODAY IS THE EMANCIPATION OF SOCIETY,  
ECONOMICALLY, POLITICALLY, SOCIALLY AND ETHICALLY.

*which does not mean  
that when we are free*

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*Handwritten: 21129*  
*Handwritten: Emma Goldman*  
**IN A FREE SOCIETY WITH MEN AND WOMEN**

**FREE TO CONTRIBUTE TO SOCIAL NEEDS AND FREE**

**TO ENJOY THE PRODUCTS OF THEIR LABOUR WOMAN**

**WILL BECOME AS GREAT A FORCE AS MAN, THE TWO**

**STRONG PILLARS UPON WHICH SOCIETY WILL REST.**

*Handwritten: The society of the future will be a society of free men and women.*

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*Sue Ellen Peters*

IT MUST BE GRANTED THAT MANY DISRUPTING

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THE LIVES OF WOMEN, AMONG THEM EDUCATION, BUT  
THE AVERAGE MOTHER STILL TRAINS HER DAUGHTER TO  
TYPE. HOME TRAINING AND SOCIAL PRESSURE  
UNITE TO FORCE HER INTO A MOULD WROUGHT IN  
AGES WHEN SHE WAS AN OBJECT OF SUPERSTITIOUS  
FEAR AND A PART OF THE HOUSEHOLD PROPERTY.

( IT IS LITTLE WONDER THAT IN THE RECENT  
PERIOD, WHEN SHE HAS HAD OPPORTUNITY TO  
EXPRESS WHAT HER INMOST SOUL DESIRED, SHE HAS  
SHOWN A TENDENCY TO KICK OUT OF THE SOCIAL  
AND SEXUAL MORALITY.

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21203  
THE SAME PHILISTINE CAN BE FOUND IN THE  
MOVEMENT FOR WOMAN'S EMANCIPATION. (YELLOW

JOURNALISTS AND MILK-AND-WATER LITTERATURES  
HAVE PAINTED PICTURES OF THE EMANCIPATED  
WOMAN THAT MAKE THE HAIR OF THE GOOD CITIZEN  
AND HIS DULL COMPANION STAND UP ON END.

EVERY MEMBER OF THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVE-  
MENT WAS PICTURED AS A GEORGE SAND IN HER  
ABSOLUTE DISREGARD OF MORALITY. NOTHING WAS  
SACRED TO HER. SHE HAD NO RESPECT FOR THE  
IDEAL RELATION BETWEEN MAN AND WOMAN. IN  
SHORT, EMANCIPATION STOOD ONLY FOR A RECKLESS  
LIFE OF LUST AND SIN; REGARDLESS OF SOCIETY,  
RELIGION, AND MORALITY.

THE EXPONENTS OF WOMAN'S RIGHTS WERE  
HIGHLY INDIGNANT AT SUCH MISREPRESENTATION.  
AND, LACKING HUMOR, THEY EXERTED ALL THEIR

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21294  
MAN WAS NOT TO BE TOLERATED AT ANY PRICE.

EXCEPT PERHAPS AS THE FATHER OF A CHILD, SINCE

A CHILD COULD NOT VERY WELL COME TO LIFE WITH-

OUT A FATHER. FORTUNATELY, THE MOST RIGID

PURITANS NEVER WILL BE STRONG ENOUGH TO KILL

THE INNATE CRAVING FOR MOTHERHOOD.

BUT WOMAN'S FREEDOM IS CLOSELY ALLIED

WITH MAN'S FREEDOM, AND MANY OF MY SO-CALLED

EMANCIPATED SISTERS SEEM TO OVERLOOK THE FACT

THAT A CHILD BORN IN FREEDOM NEEDS THE LOVE

AND DEVOTION OF EACH HUMAN BEING ABOUT HIM,

MAN AS WELL AS WOMAN. UNFORTUNATELY, IT

IS THIS NARROW CONCEPTION OF HUMAN RELATIONS

THAT HAS BROUGHT ABOUT A GREAT TRAGEDY IN THE

LIVES OF THE MODERN MAN AND WOMAN.

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**Reel 54**

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**Drafts**

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